

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE
AND DECORATION IN CYPRUS:
METROPOLITAN OR PROVINCIAL?

A. H. S. MEGAW

The substance of this paper was read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on "Art, Letters, and Society in Byzantine Provinces" in May 1973.

Since G. A. Soteriou's volume of plans and photographs appeared (Βυζαντινά Μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου [Athens, 1935]) many new monuments have been discovered while extensive cleaning and investigation have presented the mosaics and wall paintings in a new light. Much of the new material awaits definitive publication, without which final judgments cannot be passed. Those concerned have been generous in supplying the plans, photographs, and information which are individually acknowledged below, where reference is also made to their preliminary reports, including those which have appeared in Dr. V. Karageorghis' annual "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre," in *BCH*. Use has also been made of the annual reports, first published in 1949, currently entitled: *Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Communications and Works: Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the year . . .* (here abbreviated *CARDA*).

Information otherwise unpublished has also been culled from Mr. A. Papageorgiou's reports on Early Christian and Byzantine discoveries in the Nicosia periodical Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας (here abbreviated 'A.B.), vols. 25 (1964) to 30 (1969), and from his article Ἡ παλαιοχριστιανικὴ καὶ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη τῆς Κύπρου, 'A.B., 24 (1963), 22–28; 27 (1966), 151–73, 220–42, and 269–81. Frequent reference is also made to his *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965) (here abbreviated *Masterpieces*).

The Department of Antiquities in Nicosia supplied the material on which my plans in figs. A, D, and H (east part) are based, through the kindness of Dr. Karageorghis and Mr. Papageorgiou, to whom I am further indebted for the photographs reproduced in figs. 4, 6, 8, 9, 17, 21, 23, 28, 31, 33, 35–39, 41–43, and 45.

THE circumstances of Cyprus under the Byzantine emperors are best considered in three separate phases. In the first, up to the rise of Islam, its ancient cities, Hellenized where not previously Greek, enjoyed a fortunate maritime immunity. Their pagan way of life and, to some extent, their prosperity revived after successive earthquakes in the second quarter of the fourth century; and, although in A.D. 325 three Cypriot bishops attended the Council of Nicaea, Christianity seems not to have made rapid headway.

Salamis, restored under Constantius and renamed Constantia in his honor, became the Metropolis and in due course the seat of the civil governor. He remained answerable to the Comes Orientis at Antioch until the time of Justinian; but the local church early established its complete independence.¹ When the neighboring provinces were overrun by Chosroes II, seagirt Cyprus remained immune. Heraclius, appreciating its strategic importance, secured the Island on his way to Constantinople and the throne. Evidence of the prosperity of Cyprus in his time is not lacking.

There followed, in the second phase, three unhappy centuries when after devastating Arab raids the Island became a demilitarized condominium between the Empire and Islam. The coastal cities were impoverished and in some cases altogether abandoned, as were many inland settlements.²

Lastly, after its recovery by the hand of Nicephorus Phokas, Cyprus revived, if only gradually, with its new capital at inland Lefkosia. The arrival of the Seljuks in Asia Minor, and of the Latins in Antioch and Jerusalem, renewed the Island's strategic value to the Empire. There followed a period of closer Byzantine administration under the Comnenian emperors, until the arrival of the crusaders, only a few years before their seizure of Constantinople itself.

Cyprus is rich in remains of the first period, as exploration of abandoned sites is proving.³ At Kourion, the first to be systematically examined (by excavators from the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania), the mosaic inscriptions naming one Eustolios, who endowed the city with baths and recreation rooms, illustrate the ambivalent state of a society still on the threshold of Christianity.⁴ One of the series proclaims that his buildings are secured, not

¹ For a full review of the sources on the claims of the patriarch of Antioch to jurisdiction in Cyprus, see G. Downey, *PAPS*, 102 (1958), 224-28.

² It has been suggested that pestilence played its part in the undoubted decline in population and in particular the outbreak of bubonic plague of ca. A.D. 747: H. W. Catling, "An Early Byzantine Pottery Factory in Cyprus," *Levant*, 4 (1972), 5 and 79f.

³ For a recent summary, see C. Delvoye, "La place de Chypre dans l'architecture paléochrétienne de la Méditerranée," *Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία, 14-19 Ἀπριλίου 1969*, II (Nicosia, 1972), 17-21. Remains of thirty-eight basilicas excavated or otherwise identified have been listed by Papageorgiou, 'A.B., 27 (1966), 155. In most cases the finding of glass tesserae attests their decoration with wall mosaics.

⁴ Preliminary reports in *Bulletin of the University Museum, Philadelphia*, 7, no. 2 (April, 1938), 4-10 (J. F. Daniel); 14, no. 4 (June, 1950), 27-37 (De Coursey Fales). On the inscriptions, see T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), nos. 201-6.

by masonry and metal, but by the venerated symbols of Christ (fig. 3). Yet, beside this propaganda for the new religion is a couplet in which the benefactor's return to his native Kourion evokes the visits to the city of its former patron, Apollo! This not before the reign of Theodosios II, one of whose coins was found below the central floor panel of the bath building.⁵ This centerpiece represents a personification of Creation displaying what we may regard as the standard footmeasure used in fifth-century Cyprus (fig. 4). It reveals that recollections of paganism were matched by the survival of a Hellenistic figure style traditional at Antioch, where no less than four such busts of Ktisis have been found.⁶

Likewise of the fifth century, but sadly despoiled, is the episcopal basilica of Kourion.⁷ Salvaged antique material was used, notably for its columns, most of which have disappeared. Happily, its plan is complete.⁸ The single polygonal apse is flanked by pastophoria, an arrangement common in Syria but elsewhere in Cyprus unknown. The *synthronon* was probably introduced later, inconveniently close to the altar, leaving the apse vacant at a high level behind it, but accessible from the east ends of the aisles. Some fragments of mosaic paving were found, including a panel with a magpie that can be matched in Eustolios' floors (fig. 1).⁹ Outside each of the aisles was a spacious annex with benches along either wall and extending the whole length of the church. These were doubtless the *catechumena* to which the unbaptized withdrew during the *missa fidelium*.¹⁰ We must then picture a congregation of which new converts comprised a substantial proportion. To the west, beyond the narthex, a steep declivity left room for only a small court with a *phiale* beside what may be the remains of the bishop's residence. The main approach would have been from the north, where a baptistery with a cruciform font has been identified.

This Kourion basilica has yielded much low-relief carving in the *champlevé* technique from its marble wall revetments, of a type which became fashionable in the fifth century and was without doubt locally carved (fig. 2).¹¹

⁵ Kourion Museum, inv. no. C.2365. I am indebted to Dr. R. Edwards for extracts from the excavation notebook and for permission to use them here. Cf. G. McFadden, *AJA*, 55 (1951), 167; A. H. S. Megaw, *JHS*, 71 (1951), 259.

⁶ D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, II (Princeton, 1947), pls. LXIC, LXXXVa, CXXXIIb, and CLXIXb.

⁷ Initial excavations by the Pennsylvania University Museum Expedition (*Bulletin of the University Museum*, 7, no. 2 [April, 1938], 2-5) were followed on its withdrawal by the writer's excavations in 1956 and 1959.

⁸ For a plan made prior to the 1959 campaign, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments in Cyprus," *Akten d. XI. Internat. Byzantinisten-Kongr., München 1958* (Munich, 1960), 346, fig. 25. Features restored hypothetically on that plan were subsequently proved correct in all essentials.

⁹ The photographs reproduced in figs. 1 and 3 were kindly supplied by Dr. Edwards.

¹⁰ Compare the similar annex on the north side of the cathedral at Gerasa (J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* [London, 1931], plan I). Such annexes communicating with the basilica were also a feature of Paulinus' church at Tyre (Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.*, X, 4:45). Their function is clear from the location specified for the house of the catechumens in the Syriac treatise *Testamentum Domini*, I, 19: "not separated from the church." In the West, in the absence of such special accommodation, the catechumens withdrew to the baptistery (Ambrose, *Epist.* 33).

¹¹ The technique is represented elsewhere in Cyprus, e.g., at Salamis-Constantia: *BCH*, 90 (1966), 351 fig. 106, a table-top; also at Soli: *BCH*, 94 (1970), 275 fig. 140. These plaques, including those from Kourion, are not necessarily contemporary with the construction of the buildings where they were found.

This two-dimensional treatment, in which the background was filled in with colored waxes, was applied, initially at least, to plaques of marble salvaged from pagan ruins. Examples in the Cyprus Museum include a crude representation of Daniel in the lions' den (fig. 9) and one from Carpasia of a diamond design long favored in wall revetments (fig. 10). The technique probably remained in use in Cyprus in the sixth century. It is well represented among the finds from the Martyrium at Seleucia, dating from the late fifth century,¹² and the comparative rarity of the technique outside the Levant suggests that it may have originated there.¹³

These buildings at Kourion with probable Antiochene connections are in some respects exceptional among the monuments of Early Byzantine Cyprus; nor are they the earliest to survive. It has been suggested that the Sphyridon (*sic*) of pious memory mentioned in a basilica floor excavated under the church of St. Spyridon at Tremetousha is none other than the patron Saint, who represented Tremithus at the First Ecumenical Council. In any case the carpet style of the mosaic surrounding the inscription (fig. 23) indicates a date for the basilica before the end of the fourth century.¹⁴ For the remains of the Island's earliest major church (preserving remains of mosaic floors very similar to those at Tremetousha) we must turn to Salamis-Constantia, for thirty-five years the seat of its most illustrious cleric, St. Epiphanius. He came from Palestine and at Constantia, in the great basilica he founded, he was buried by special license of the Emperor Arcadius, in the year 403. It is clear from the Life of the Saint, a somewhat later compilation, that the cost of such a major undertaking was a problem at a time when much of the wealth of the city was still in pagan hands. The thank offerings Epiphanius received for successive apparently miraculous cures all went to pay the builders. He was buried in the unfinished church, at the spot to the right of the sanctuary where he had restored to life a wealthy and obdurate pagan, one Faustianos, who had succumbed when a careless builder fell from a great height onto

¹² *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III: *The Excavations 1937-1939*, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton, 1941), pls. 20ff. and, on the date of the building, p. 53. The technique remained popular in Antioch in the early sixth century.

¹³ The examples in the Istanbul Museum noted by K. Weitzmann (*ibid.*, 125 note 2) have smooth grounds and are of Middle Byzantine date. Since A. Xyngopoulos observed that the technique was very little used in Greece before Iconoclasm ('Αρχ.Έφ. [1917], 72ff.), further examples have been found, notably at Thessalian Thebes (G. A. Soteriou, 'Αρχ.Έφ. [1929], 136 fig. 187, from basilica B); others have been identified in the Byzantine Museum, Athens. In pagan contexts, the technique is at least as old as the third century, to judge by fragments from the temple of Zeus at Aizanoi (T. Dohrn, "Crustae," *RM*, 72 [1965], 137 and pls. 58, 2, 1; 59, 1; 59, 2, 1 and 2).

¹⁴ For a preliminary report on the excavations, see A. Papageorgiou, *Κυπρ.Σπουδ.*, 30 (1966), 25ff. To judge by bases found *in situ* the basilica was furnished with stone, not marble, columns.

At Stavrovouni monastery, there is as yet no archaeological evidence to support the legend of St. Helena's gift of the cross of the penitent thief and of a church to house it (Leontios Makhairas, *Chronicle*, 8, ed. R. M. Dawkins [Oxford, 1932], I, 6ff.). On the minimal value of the legend, see S. Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικά και Λαογραφικά Μελέται* (Nicosia, 1970), 315ff. The triconch sanctuary with a groin vault over the altar is evidently the earliest part of the existing church. Despite a superficial resemblance to the church of St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem (A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* [Bonn, 1970], no. 67, pl. 32), the building is undatable in its present state (plan in G. Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches of Cyprus," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in London*, 28 [1915-16], 112 fig. 1; since that plan was made, the eastern apse has disappeared). The two blind domes over the nave are unlikely to antedate the tenth century.

this inquisitive notable's head.¹⁵ There the Saint's tomb was discovered some years ago, empty indeed, for we know from a late source that his relics were removed, like so many, to Constantinople.¹⁶

Originally, this late-fourth-century basilica had seven aisles, though the outermost were little more than passages (fig. A).¹⁷ Beyond these and the narrow corridors containing the gallery staircases, there is evidence for spacious *catechumena*, as in the Kourion basilica. They were linked by a narthex only a little shorter than that of St. Sophia; and there was evidently a vast atrium, as yet unexcavated. The column drums and the capitals of classical Corinthian form were of stone and presumably cut for the job (fig. 12). The inner aisle colonnades were entirely removed in a major reconstruction of the building, evidently in the sixth century, when the west wall was rebuilt and the *synthronon* constructed in the apse. To the east, parts of the original baptistery complex have been uncovered, including the cruciform font, heated by a hypocaust.¹⁸

The later *synthronon* obstructed an original feature of the sanctuary: a series of narrow passages cut through the apse walls to provide lateral communication across the entire width of the church at the east end. This facility, which served some requirement of local ritual as yet unexplained, may have been retained by using the curving passage (a normal structural feature) under the *synthronon*. We have seen that it was retained by a different expedient at Kourion. Such transverse passages linking three apses, usually with projecting semicircular exteriors, constitute a sanctuary arrangement common to many early basilicas in Cyprus. The three projecting apses are found in Palestine, though rarely in early churches;¹⁹ and, since in Syrian basilicas there are sometimes lateral openings in the wall of the single apse, leading to the pastophoria, it would seem that Epiphanius brought some ideas of church-planning with him when he came to Cyprus.²⁰ However, one

¹⁵ Recorded in the scarcely historical continuation of Epiphanius' *Vita* by Polybios, bishop of Rhinocorura: PG, 41, col. 84ff.

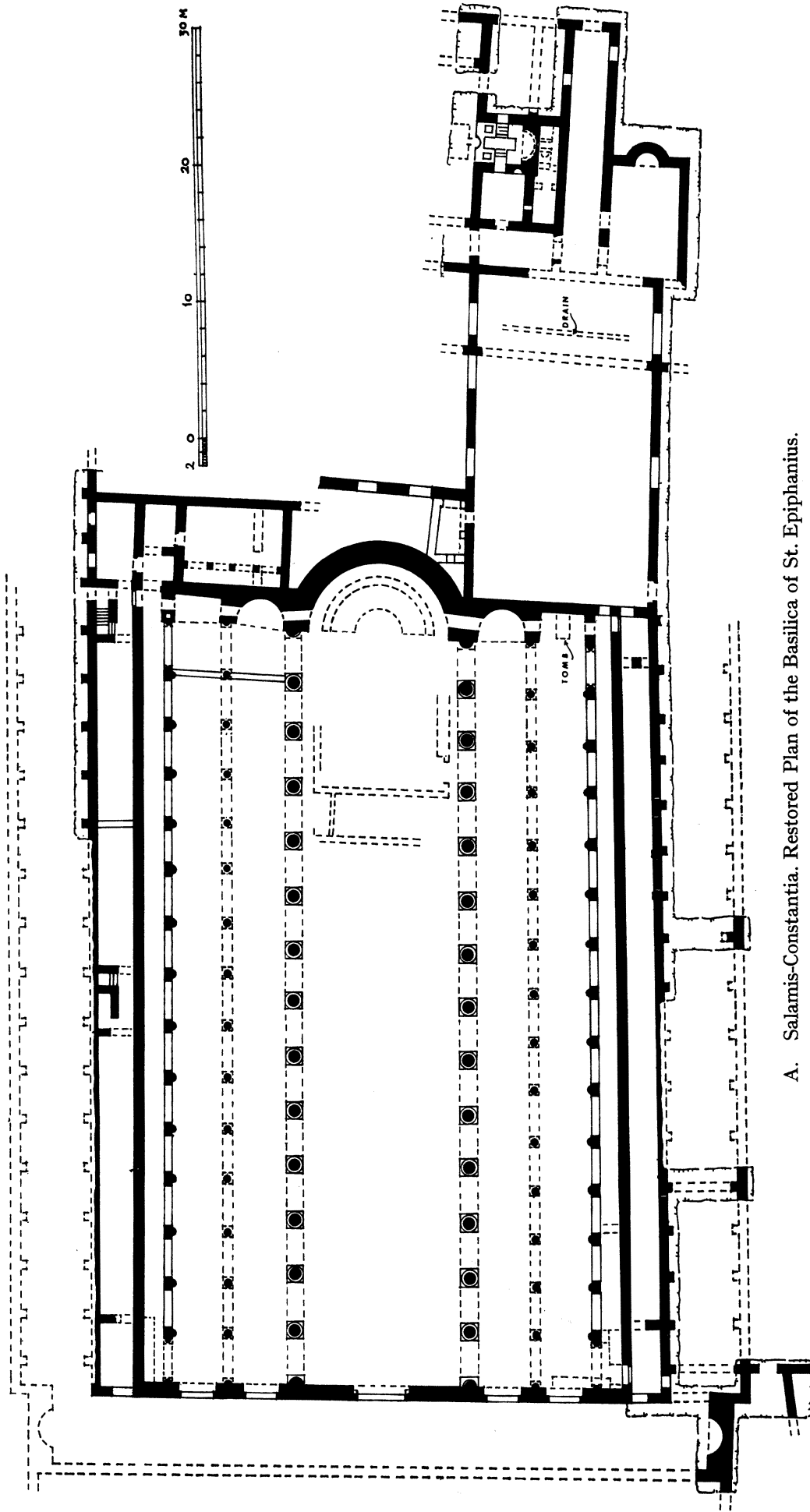
¹⁶ By Leo VI, according to Kyprianos, *ἱστορία χρονολογικὴ τῆς νήσου Κύπρου* (Venice, 1779), 352.

¹⁷ The basilica was partially cleared by G. Jeffery (*AntJ*, 8 [1928], 345; compare Soteriou's plan in *Βυζ. Μνημεῖα*, fig. 3). Its excavation was resumed by A. I. Dikigoropoulos for the Department of Antiquities in 1954 (*ArchRep* 1954, 33; 1956, 29–31; 1957, 49f.; 1958, 32).

¹⁸ As in the baptistery of the East Church at Apollonia, though this is considered to be a sixth-century addition: J. B. Ward Perkins, *RBK*, I (Stuttgart, 1963), s.v. "Apollonia," col. 221.

¹⁹ A contemporary in Jerusalem is the basilica of which remains were excavated under the crusader church in Gethsemane: Ovadiah, *Corpus*, no. 72, pl. 35. Syria provides a later example in the great church at Qal'at Sim'an, pilgrims to which may have carried the form to Greece, the Balkans, and elsewhere (cf. Delvoye, "La place de Chypre," 20). Externally semicircular apses are unusual in Constantinople (T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* [Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1971], 57). Delvoye (*op. cit.*, 21) observes a link between Cyprus and the Aegean area in the semicircular court enclosing the east end of the three-apsed basilica investigated by Mr. Papageorgiou in the monastery of St. Heracleidius at Tamassos-Politiko (*BCH*, 89 [1965], 297f.); for this feature is repeated in the Miletus basilica (C. Delvoye, "Etudes d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine. II. L'apside," *Byzantion*, 32 [1962], 492 fig. 26, with references in 493 note 2). Compare the corridor encircling the single apse of the octagonal church at Philippi (Πρακτ. 'Αρχ. Έτ., 1966, 48 fig. 1).

²⁰ Delvoye suggests ("La place de Chypre," 17) that the atrium and the galleries are features which could equally well derive from Constantinople or Jerusalem. The impact of what may be regarded as a Constantinian *koine* was undoubtedly felt in Cyprus as elsewhere, but in the absence of fourth-



A. Salamis-Constantia. Restored Plan of the Basilica of St. Epiphanius.

of the closest parallels to the transverse passages of the Cypriot apses is in a pagan structure at Ephesus: the exedra of the Mouseion which, about the time Epiphanius was building his church, was incorporated in the west side of the atrium of the church of the Virgin.²¹ Whatever the prototype of this feature, which provided the clergy with access behind the altar across the entire east end, the normal Constantinopolitan plan with main entrances to the aisles on either side of a single apse was completely different.²²

The Cypriot sanctuary plan is repeated in a large basilica at Soli, which a team from Laval University, Montreal, is currently excavating (fig. B).²³ Here also, the columns were of stone drums, though the capitals were reduced to a simple molding. Wide variations in the spacing of the columns make it certain that they carried timber architraves, which suggests a relatively early construction date. But this can hardly have been earlier than *ca.* A.D. 400, since the basilica replaced a building with mosaic floors in contact with which late-fourth-century coins were found.²⁴

The much smaller episcopal basilica of Carpasia, discovered under the ruins of a twelfth-century domed church, also had three apses linked by transverse passages (fig. C).²⁵ Here for the first time we find columns and capitals of marble, pink marble from Asia Minor for the most part, for virtually no marble was quarried on the Island. The style of carving puts this Carpasia basilica well into the fifth century (fig. 15).²⁶

The adjoining baptistery is a very complete example of the type already noted at Kourion and Constantia. In this layout one can picture the ritual progressing in orderly fashion, even when there was a large number of candi-

century monuments it is difficult to accept any feature as specifically Constantinopolitan at so early a date. It is true that surviving Syrian apses with lateral openings into the pastophoria, such as Basilica B at Resafa (J. Kollwitz, *AA* 1957, 67–68 fig. 1), are later than Epiphanius' church, as are those at Cyrene (J. B. Ward Perkins, *Actas del VIII Congr. Internac. de Arqueologia Cristiana, Barcelona 5–11 Octubre 1969* [Barcelona, 1972], Plates volume, pl. LXXIX, fig. 4), and Sheitla (J. Christern, *BZ*, 62 [1969], 290 fig. c). But another feature of the Constantia basilica, the inscribed lateral apses, are clearly inspired by Syro-Palestinian practice, as Delvoye observed ("La place de Chypre," 18). Elsewhere, the entire east end of the five-aisled Lambousa basilica was masked by a straight wall (Papageorgiou, 'A.B.', 27 [1966], 160), and the lateral apses of the small transept basilica adjoining the Peyia baptistery are also inscribed (see note 54 *infra*).

²¹ *Forschungen in Ephesos*, IV, i (Vienna, 1932), 16 fig. 3 and pl. i. On the date of the church, see R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 80f.

The same disposition of opposite passages is repeated in the baptistery at Qal'at Sim'an, where the font is located in an apsidal recess pierced by entrance and exit passages (A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens* [Paris, 1962], 13 fig. 98), an arrangement which is closely similar to that of the early Cypriot baptisteries (including that of St. Epiphanius' basilica), and is described *infra*.

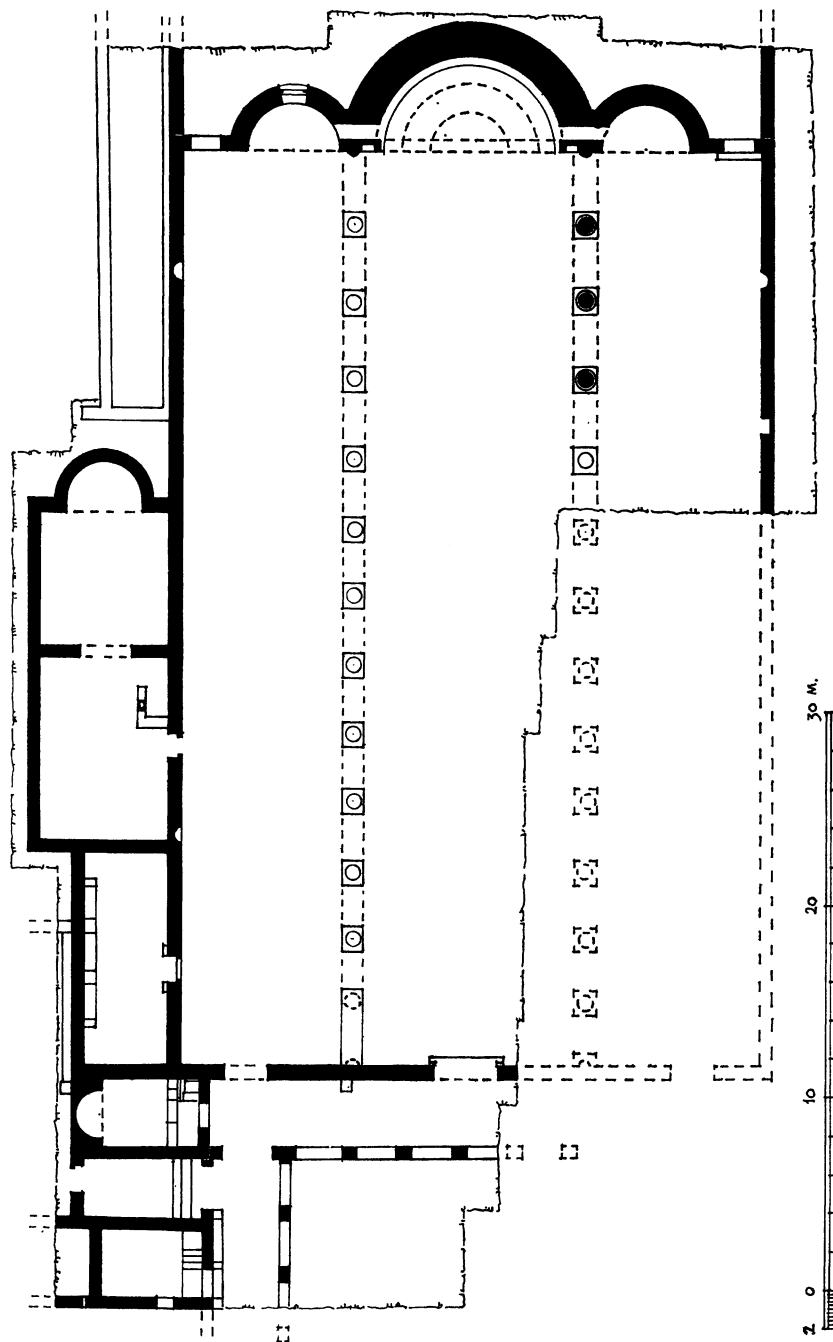
²² Mathews, *Early Churches*, 105.

²³ For the plan on which fig. B is based I am indebted to Professor J. des Gagniers. Summary reports in *BCH*, 91 (1967), 361–63; 92 (1968), 372f.; 93 (1969), 533f.; 94 (1970), 276f.; 95 (1971), 424. Cf. Tran Tan Tihn, *Actas del VIII Congr. Internac. de Arqueologia Cristiana*, 581–85.

²⁴ J. des Gagniers, *RDAC* 1967, 58. Since identified as an early five-aisled basilica.

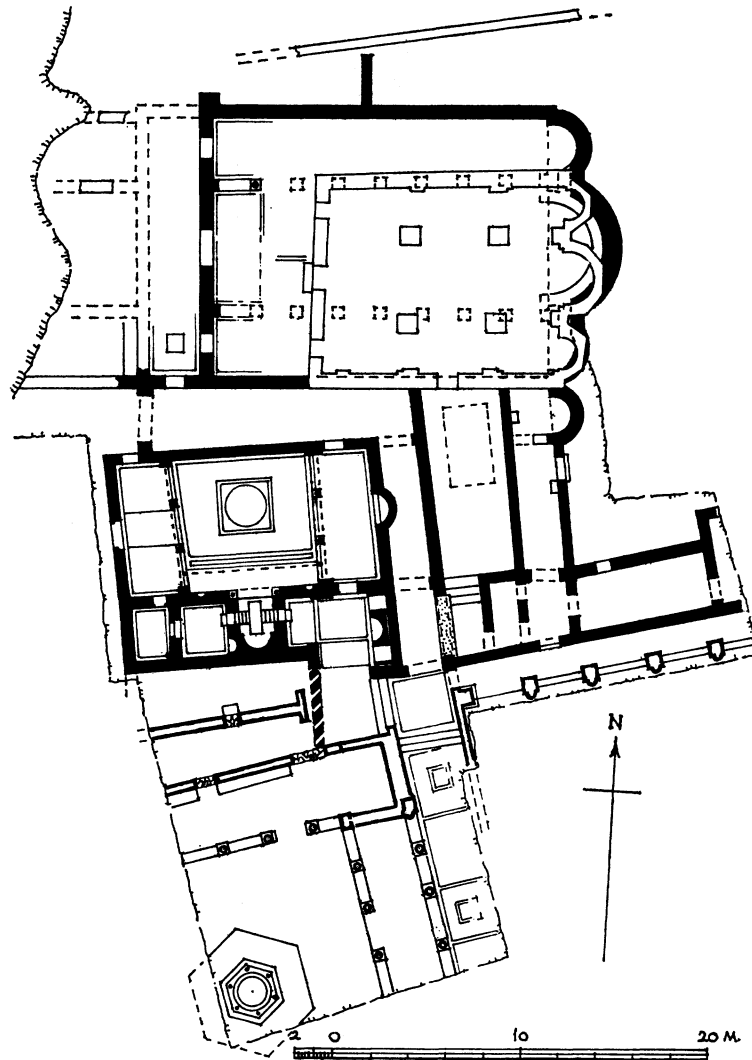
²⁵ This feature has been obscured by the masonry of the later church. For a preliminary report on the excavations, see J. du Plat Taylor, *RDAC* 1935, 14–17. I am indebted to Miss Taylor for an unpublished plan used in the preparation of fig. C. The passages recur in the two basilicas at nearby Aphentrika: see A. H. S. Megaw, "Three vaulted basilicas in Cyprus," *JHS*, 66 (1948), 49 fig. 2, and 51 fig. 7. They have also been revealed at the Lambousa church (Papageorgiou, 'A.B.', 25 [1964], 213), probably the episcopal basilica of Lapethus, together with lateral apses not shown on Soteriou's plan (Βουλ. Μνημεία, fig. 15).

²⁶ A catechumenon probably existed along the north wall of the church.



B. Soli. Plan of the Basilica. Scale 1:400

dates: they would proceed by one flight of steps into the font, set in an apsidal recess, where each in turn would receive baptism from the bishop, whose position is marked in some cases by a waist-high niche at the focal point of the hall accommodating the spectators. They would then, one by



C. Carpasia (Ayios Philon). Plan of the Basilica and Baptistry. Scale 1:400

one, pass out of sight by the opposite flight of steps for the vesting and the remainder of the rite.

Almost identical is the layout of the baptistry attached to the church of St. Theodore at Gerasa,²⁷ and although the examples in Cyprus are earlier it would not be surprising if a common prototype were to be found by the

²⁷ C. H. Kraeling ed., *Gerasa* (New Haven, 1938), pl. 33; Khatchatryan, *Les baptistères*, 10 fig. 64, and 90. At Qa'at Sim'an, although the main hall is an octagon within an ambulatory in conformity with the centralized Constantinopolitan scheme, the font is not in the center but in an apsidal recess and is entered and left through opposite lateral openings (*ibid.*, 13 fig. 98), as in the early Cypriot baptisteries.

Jordan. Certainly nothing could be more alien to the Constantinopolitan type of baptistery with the font set in the middle of a centralized building.

The floors of these Cypriot churches were of various types, none of them peculiar to the Island apart from the simplest paving of the local schist known as *marmara*. *Opus sectile*, which was used in the Carpasia basilica and is particularly well preserved in its baptistery (fig. 5), is perhaps the most common.²⁸ Its popularity in Asia Minor²⁹ and comparative rarity in Constantinople³⁰ suggest the direction from which the technique reached Cyprus, as well as the material for it. Exceptionally, the technique was applied to wall decoration in Epiphanius' basilica (fig. 6).

Mosaic floors are a feature of a church complex excavated by the Department of Antiquities in the village of Ayia Trias not far from Carpasia (fig. D).³¹ Although in this case there are no passages linking the apses, this church cannot be dissociated from those considered so far; for the columns were of stone and capped with a simple molding as in the Soli basilica, the sanctuary did not extend to the aisles as in some later basilicas,³² and the baptistery is of the processional type so well represented at Carpasia. On the other hand, the *catechumena* have been reduced to a single chamber. The long *solea*-like passage extending almost the whole length of the nave is a unique feature, though probably not an original one since it cuts awkwardly into the mosaic floor (fig. 21). It is presumed to have served the purposes of an ambo, protected from the congregation not by its altitude but by lateral barriers.³³

The mosaic floors at Ayia Trias are more elaborate than those of the late fourth century at Tremithus (fig. 23) and the fragments in the Constantia basilica; and since, unlike those at Kourion (figs. 1, 3, 4), they include no representational elements they could well belong to an earlier phase of fifth-century decoration.³⁴ Many of the motifs are characteristic of Antioch pavements dated or datable within the fifth century.

²⁸ In Salamis-Constantia, to mention no other site, there are several examples: the flooring with *opus sectile* of the entire area of the palaestra of the gymnasium was undertaken at some time after the Justinianic restoration, but evidently never completed; similarly floored were an annex of the baptistery of the Epiphanius basilica (CARD 1969, fig. 33); the nave of the Campanopetra basilica, where the floor has been systematically robbed; and some rooms of the adjoining baths, which are well preserved (BCH, 94 [1970], 265 figs. 123 and 124).

²⁹ At Meriamlik in St. Thecla (MAMA, II. Meriamlik und Korykos [Manchester, 1930], 22 fig. 22); at Korykos in the transept basilica (*ibid.*, 118 fig. 118); the tomb church (*ibid.*, 147 fig. 158); and the monastery church (*ibid.*, 157 fig. 168).

³⁰ Such was the floor of the Saray basilica (Mathews, *Early Churches*, 34). Examples in Greece include the bema of Basilica B at Thessalian Thebes (Soteriou, 'Αρχ. Έφ. [1929], 120f. and figs. 164-68).

³¹ Trials by A. I. Dikigoropoulos for the Department of Antiquities (ArchRep 1957, 50) led to systematic excavation by A. Papageorgiou (BCH, 88 [1964], 372-74; 90 [1965], 386; 91 [1966], 363; 'A.B., 25 [1964], 155f.; 27 [1966], 159f.).

³² The foundation along the original line of the bema screen (the bema was at some time slightly enlarged) may have carried the original clergy bench. If the later arrangement included a semicircular synthronon, all trace of it has disappeared in the demolition of the apse down to its foundations.

³³ In Cyprus nothing has been found akin to the exedrae in the naves of many Syrian churches, comprising clergy bench and ambo (J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* [Paris, 1947], 208-12).

³⁴ For a section with cable meander, see BCH, 88 (1964), 375 fig. 108. A coin of Honorius was found in the foundation of the floor of the north aisle: Papageorgiou, 'A.B., 28 (1967), 83. On developments in the design of mosaic floors in the fourth and fifth centuries, see E. Kitzinger, "Mosaics in the Greek East from Constantine to Justinian," *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1965), 343ff.

The remains of a much larger and more sumptuous basilica of rather later date have been excavated by a mission from the University of Lyons at Salamis-Constantia.³⁵ Known by the name of the locality, the Campanopetra complex was of exceptional length: with two successive atria at the west, a third to the east of the church, and, beyond this, a bath building beside a monumental staircase leading up from the shore.³⁶ The *catechumena* are here reduced to narrow passages linking the east and west atria (that on the south was later closed with an apse and used as a *koimeterion*) and the passages linking the apses are lacking, as at Ayia Trias.^{36a} Here also the initial presbytery enclosure was at some time enlarged, and it is probably to the later phase that the semicircular *synthronon* belongs. The floor in the aisles was of large yellow marble slabs and of *opus sectile* in the nave (also in the baths, excellently preserved).³⁷

Here for the first time we find imported Proconnesian marble employed on a massive scale, attesting a reorientation toward Constantinople by the close of the fifth century; for the capitals³⁸ belong to an advanced stage in the development of the so-called Theodosian class (fig. 13). They carried arches, not architraves, for some voussoirs have been found. The narthex with apsidal ends has been cited as a Constantinopolitan feature in view of the wide distribution of later examples.³⁹ All in all, this large and costly church suggests that, with the conversion of the wealthy merchants of the city, insular traditions were increasingly exposed to outside influences, which as time went on came more and more from the capital.

Earlier importations of carved marble included table tops with figural rim reliefs of which fragments have been found on several sites.⁴⁰ A suggestive piece from Salamis-Constantia bears a head, possibly designed to be regarded as a personification of that city in the formula established by the Tyche of Antioch (fig. 8).⁴¹ The production of such table tops has been assigned to

³⁵ See J. Pouilloux in V. Karageorghis, *BCH*, 93 (1969), 535–38; 94 (1970), 261–66; 95 (1971), 396–98; J. Pouilloux, "Fouilles à Salamine de Chypre," *RDAC* 1969, 47–53. I am indebted to Professor Pouilloux for plans, photographs, and information.

³⁶ For plans see *BCH*, 94 (1970), 262 fig. 119; *RDAC* 1969, 48 fig. 2. The excavators have affiliated this layout to the Holy Sepulchre as described by Eusebius (*BCH*, 93 [1969], 537). The covered dais in the east atrium is indeed suggestive of arrangements for the display of relics to pilgrims comparable to those for the *proskynesis* of Golgotha.

^{36a} Three projecting semicircular apses without connecting passages also at Lysi (*BCH*, 88 [1964], 374; plan in Papageorgiou, 'A.B., 25 [1964], 157 fig. 3) and the *extra muros* basilica at Kourion (A. Christodoulou in Karageorghis, *BCH*, 96 [1972], 1083).

³⁷ *BCH*, 94 (1970), 265 figs. 123–24.

³⁸ *RDAC* 1969, 50 fig. 3.

³⁹ Delvoye, "La place de Chypre," 17. At Campanopetra they may derive from the smaller apse at the south end (only one end has been excavated) of Epiphanius' narthex (fig. A), which suggests that this feature was already current at an early date in eastern provinces, as do the apsidal colonnades in the corresponding position in Theophilus' approximately contemporary basilica at Abu Mina (J. B. Ward Perkins, *BSR*, 4 [1949], pl. 11).

⁴⁰ To those found in Cyprus published by E. Michon, *RBibl*, 13 (1916), 121–30, and others in E. Kitzinger's addenda, *DOP*, 14 (1960), 22 note 10, add *BCH*, 90 (1966), 336 fig. 92, from Salamis. One was copied at Salamis in the local *champlevé* technique: *BCH*, 90 (1966), 351 fig. 106.

⁴¹ Compare the Tyche of Cyprus on the gold cup from Albania in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (J. Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran* [Leipzig, 1917], 4, 242).

various centers, including Egypt,⁴² and though it was later emulated in Constantinople most of the specimens in Cyprus probably derive from the original source.⁴³ An exceptionally early import from the capital, if such it be, is a high-relief panel, now in the Old Archbishopric in Nicosia (fig. 11), the function of which is uncertain, but for which a date early in the fifth century seems appropriate.⁴⁴

One class of high-relief sculpture which is certainly local is that executed in stucco made from the Island's excellent deposits of gypsum. Some well preserved sections of frieze carved with hunting scenes (fig. 7) come from a secular building at Salamis-Constantia which was in use from the fifth to the seventh century.⁴⁵ The gypsum was poured *in situ* into wooden molds and finished by hand. Although of local workmanship, this inhabited scroll may well derive iconographically from the Hellenistic traditions of Antioch. The same molded stucco technique was also used in the decoration of churches,⁴⁶ as was gypsum in their construction.⁴⁷ Also unquestionably of local execution are capitals (fig. 14)⁴⁸ and screen panels of stone from various parts of the Island (fig. 17).⁴⁹ They belong to the period, extending at least to the end of the fifth century, when most churches were constructed with columns of local stone or with *spolia*. As in planning and construction, so also in decoration local traditions were only gradually transformed by the growing authority of Byzantium.

It was not until the time of Justinian that the full impact of that authority was felt. It was he who transferred the civil administration of Cyprus from the Diocese of the East to a governor responsible directly to the central government, and it is to him and to Theodora that an inscription from Salamis-

⁴² Recently, R. Givon, *IEJ*, 14 (1964), 232ff.

⁴³ The fragment of superior quality and exceptional size in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection is a Constantinopolitan work of ca. 400 (Kitzinger, *DOP*, 14, p. 19ff.), but the series seems to have started so early that the original center (or centers) of production should be sought elsewhere. See now the detailed study by G. Roux, "Tables chrétiennes en marbre découvertes à Salamis," *Salamine de Chypre*. IV, *Anthologie Salaminienne* (Paris, 1973), 183-96.

⁴⁴ The comparable panel in Berlin is assigned to Constantinople by H. Brandenburg (*RM*, 79 [1972], 123-54), who suggests that such panels may have occupied focal points in presbytery wall revetments. In such a position the three trees of the Nicosia relief would doubtless symbolize the Trinity. A high-relief fragment in the Cyprus Museum (A. H. S. Megaw, *RDAC* 1937-39, pl. 45,4) may come from a similar panel.

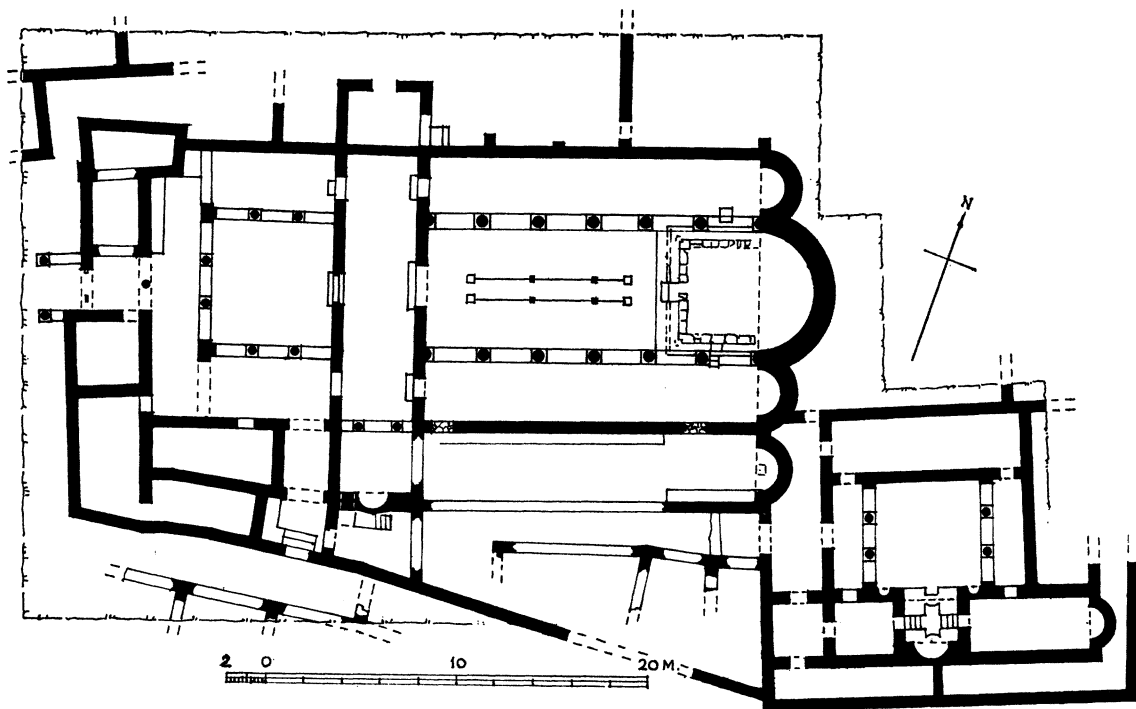
⁴⁵ Known as the "Oil Press" from its last use by squatters, it has been excavated recently by the Lyons mission: Pouilloux in Karageorghis, *BCH*, 95 (1971), 398f.; 96 (1972), 1067. The photograph reproduced in fig. 7 was kindly supplied by Professor Pouilloux.

⁴⁶ E.g., the Amathus basilica: K. Nicolaou in Karageorghis, *BCH*, 86 (1962), 412ff. and 410 fig. 106; the Kiti church: *BCH*, 84 (1960), 297, fig. 75, an acanthus capital; and the Marathovouno basilica: A. Papageorgiou, 'Η βασιλική Μαραθοβούνου, *RDAC* 1963, pl. 12,3 and 9, a half-colonnette, with twisted fluting and the capital of a half-column.

⁴⁷ E.g., the basilica at Marathovouno: *RDAC* 1963, 84 and discussion on 100; Lysi basilica: *BCH*, 88 (1964), 374, plan in Papageorgiou, 'Α.Β., 25 (1964), 157 fig. 3.

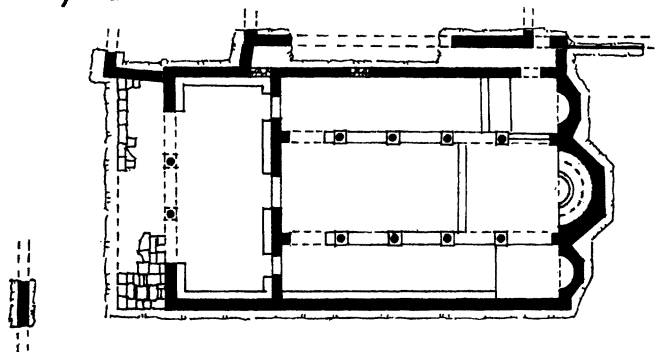
⁴⁸ From the basilica at Lythrankomi, which the Panagia Kanakaria replaced; not contemporary with the fragmentary mosaic in its apse (see *infra*).

⁴⁹ From the Marathovouno basilica (Papageorgiou, *RDAC* 1963, 99f. and pl. 12,4, 5, 7, 8). There is a good series at Tamassus-Politiko in the building over the supposed tomb of St. Heracleidius. Some delicately carved screen posts now frame a window in a late building of the Monastery of the Priests (Ayia Moni) near Statos (Soteriou, *BuL. Μνημεία*, pl. 137a). Stone furniture is also reported at the Ayia Trias basilica (Papageorgiou, 'Α.Β., 27 [1966], 159f.) and at Aphentrika ('Α.Β., 26 [1965], 94).

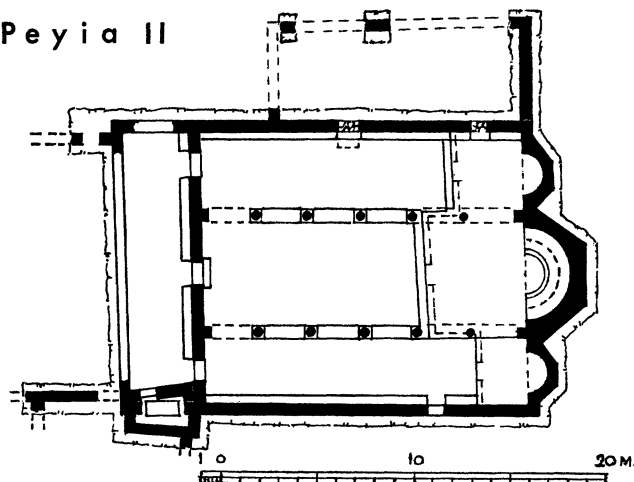


D. Ayia Trias. Plan of the Basilica and Baptistery. Scale 1:400

Peyia III



Peyia II



E. Peyia (Ayios Georghios). Plans of Basilicas II and III. Approx. Scale 1:400

Constantia honoring the ἀγαθοὶ βασιλεῖς as restorers of the city is assigned.⁵⁰ Their work is identifiable, primarily, in the great baths incorporating remains of the ancient gymnasium, where this inscription was found.⁵¹ Stone colonnades were replaced by marble and in the center of the palaestra a larger column was set up, conceivably to carry effigies of the βασιλεῖς. It was most probably in their time that a major restoration of Epiphanius' basilica was accomplished, its semi-circular *synthronon* introduced, and its floor paved with the large slabs of white marble which was considered the most sumptuous treatment.

It is perhaps no coincidence that at about the same time as Justinian's administrative reorganization and this restoration of Salamis-Constantia the palace building at Paphos, which a Polish expedition is excavating, was abandoned to squatters.⁵² Corresponding in layout to the standard Late Roman palace plan with an apsidal audience chamber approached from a peristyle court, it is a pre-Constantinian structure; but it was evidently maintained through the fifth century and even embellished with new floor mosaics and wall revetments, as the seat of the *consularis*, the excavator suggests.

For a building constructed *de novo* in the Justinianic period, we must look beyond Paphos,⁵³ to the ruins of a small township on Cape Drepanon near the present village of Peyia. Here, in the largest of the three basilicas excavated by the Antiquities Department, were columns and capitals of Proconnesian marble, a semicircular *synthronon* within an externally semi-hexagonal apse conforming with Constantinopolitan practice,^{53a} a sanctuary extending into the first bay of each aisle, but curiously no narthex.⁵⁴ West of the atrium was a baptistery, not of the traditional type but with the circular

⁵⁰ A. H. S. Megaw, *ArchRep* 1957, 47; T. B. Mitford and Ino Nicolaou, *Inscriptions of Salamis, 1952-1961* (Nicosia, 1974), 69f., where a date in 542-43 is suggested. It is possible that this restoration was occasioned by repercussions of the seismic upheaval which virtually destroyed Antioch in 526 and 528, a disaster which may help to explain the administrative and cultural reorientation of Cyprus toward Constantinople.

⁵¹ Excavations by A. I. Dikigoropoulos and V. Karageorghis for the Department of Antiquities from 1952 to 1959 (*JHS*, 73 [1953], 136f.; 74 [1954], 175; *ArchRep* 1954, 31-33; 1955, 44f.; 1956, 27-29; 1957, 46-48; 1958, 31f.), resumed by Karageorghis in 1962 and still continuing (*BCH*, 87 [1963], 380f.; 89 [1965], 287-90; 90 [1966], 381f.; 91 [1967], 348-55; 92 [1968], 321; 93 [1969], 548-52; 94 [1970], 278-81 and fig. 143 showing the great extent of the Byzantine reconstruction; *RDAC* 1966, 13-17).

⁵² W. A. Daszewski, *RDAC* 1972, 204ff., with references to earlier reports.

⁵³ In Paphos itself, among earlier basilicas, are that with three aisles and remains of mosaic flooring known as the Panagia Limeniotissa, which the Arabs occupied (inscriptions) and which later reconstructions have obscured (*BCH*, 92 [1968], 351; 93 [1969], 504; plan in Papageorghiou, 'A.B., 30 [1969], 83 fig. 1); and, on the site now occupied by the Chrysopolitissa church, one with five aisles and mosaic floors which Mr. Papageorghiou is currently excavating.

^{53a} Among other examples of the semi-hexagonal form are the single apse of the Skyrvallos basilica and that of its baptistery at Ktima (Paphos): Papageorghiou, 'A.B., 25 (1964), 162 fig. 7; as well as the other Peyia basilicas (fig. E). Semi-hexagonal lateral apses in conjunction with a polygonal main apse occur at Amathus (for plan, see Papageorghiou, 'A.B., 28 [1967], 146 fig. 4) and in the basilica of which remains have been found under the Bedestan in Nicosia (briefly reported in *RDAC* 1937-39, 192).

⁵⁴ Plan in Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments" (*supra*, note 8), 349 fig. 26. For preliminary reports on the excavation of this and two other basilicas nearby, see *JHS*, 70 (1950), 15; 73 (1953), 137; 74 (1954), 175; *ArchRep* 1954, 33. The inclusion of the east ends of the aisles in the sanctuary conforms with sixth-century practice in Palestine (Delvoye, "La place de Chypre," 20). The similar disposition in the basilicas at Salamis-Constantia may derive from secondary rearrangements.

font in the middle of a rectangular chamber with porticoes, and possibly galleries, on all four sides. This is more in line with Constantinopolitan practice, but finds its closest parallels in Ionia.⁵⁵ The adjoining chapel is a small transept basilica, a form which is otherwise unknown in Cyprus, but already in the fifth century was current in the Holy Land.⁵⁶ The ambo, of which several fragments were found (fig. 18),⁵⁷ was of the typical Byzantine sixth-century model⁵⁸ and was located centrally, as in the Campanopetra basilica and in St. Sophia itself.

Much of this complex near Peyia was floored with mosaics. In the bema there is an inhabited trellis (fig. 19), a motif which remained popular in Antioch in the early sixth century, here inhabited by birds and sea creatures. In the center of the atrium are four panels each containing a running animal.⁵⁹ Elsewhere interlace patterns prevail,⁶⁰ such as can be matched in many lands that enjoyed the *pax byzantina* in the sixth century.

That at this time the language of church decoration in Cyprus was a Constantinopolitan *koine* is even better illustrated by architectural sculpture. Characteristic are the acanthus capitals of the main Peyia basilica,⁶¹ of a type which has been found in virtually every corner of the Empire. Two smaller basilicas excavated on the same site, which are very similar in plan (fig. E), also have marble columns and capitals. Basilica II was probably built in the late sixth century, for a tomb contrived at the south end of the narthex contained jewelry including items which are matched in a treasure of that date in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.⁶² The capitals were of the Ionic impost type. Basilica III, probably somewhat later, was furnished with simple cushion capitals (fig. 16). This use in Cyprus of bases, columns, and capitals from the Marmara Islands, even in the most modest of these Peyia churches, is a forceful reminder of the vast scale and range of the Proconnesian marble trade before the Arab wars. A typical imported panel of this period was found in fragments in the ruins of the city of Paphos which the Arabs sacked in the mid-seventh century.⁶³ It must be conceded, however, that on

⁵⁵ To the three examples at Gülbahçe, Miletus, and Alabanda, of which plans have been collected by Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères*, figs. 114–16, add that of the basilica of St. Stephen in Cos (A. K. Orlandos, "Les baptistères du Dodécanèse," *Actes du Ve Congr. Internat. d'Archéologie Chrétienne* [Vatican City, 1957], 205 fig. 8). The layout of the baptistery at Eleusis seems to have been similar: Soteriou, 'Αρχ.Εφ. (1929), 184 fig. 15. If church B of the Bayazid complex is indeed a baptistery (N. Firatlı, *CahArch*, 5 [1951], 167 and fig. 1), then the rectangular form with ambulatory was adopted, if it did not originate, in Constantinople itself in the sixth century.

⁵⁶ E.g., Et-Tabgha: Ovadia, *Corpus (supra*, note 14), no. 46b, pl. 22; Jericho, Tell Hassan: *ibid.*, no. 64, pl. 29; 'Ein Kerim, south church: *ibid.*, no. 86, pl. 41; basilica at Kh. Aristobulias: *ibid.*, no. 99, pl. 45. The Peyia transept basilica is structurally the earliest part of the complex.

⁵⁷ Another fragment is illustrated in Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments," pl. 39,2. Parts of a similar ambo from the Sykha church (*JHS*, 66 [1948], 55 fig. 13) are now in the Cyprus Museum. For a fragment from Aphentrika, see Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεία, pl. 33a.

⁵⁸ E.g., that from the Justinianic Bayazid basilica: Mathews, *Early Churches*, figs. 56, 57.

⁵⁹ Bear, boar, bull, and lion; the last in Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments," pl. 40,1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 40,2.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 39,1.

⁶² M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, II (Washington, D.C., 1965), 135 ff.

⁶³ A. H. S. Megaw, "Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970–1971," *DOP*, 26 (1972), fig. 26.

present evidence the new Justinianic architecture of vaults and domes did not reach Cyprus, where the traditional wood-roofed basilica seems to have remained unchallenged.

Thanks to the fact that the writ of the iconoclast emperors was ineffective in Cyprus, the Island has something to show of early mural decoration. The embellishment of the Hagiasma of Nicodemus at Salamis-Constantia with inscriptions and a painted panel of Nilotic character below a medallion of the bearded Christ is datable to the sixth century,⁶⁴ when the Constantinopolitan repertory embraced both these elements.

The early Justinianic period is represented by a fragmentary mosaic composition surviving in a basilica apse incorporated in the church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi. The central image of the enthroned Virgin and Child, strictly frontal,⁶⁵ was isolated in a mandorla, normally reserved for Christ alone, and flanked by archangels.⁶⁶ Fragments of palm trees, rare examples of the "royal" or Palmyra palm, set in Paradise this visionary proclamation of the Incarnation.

It is the bold schematization of this composition, the use of large tesserae, even in the faces, and the highly decorative borders which enclosed it that claim this Lythrankomi mosaic for the first half of the sixth century. The apostle heads surviving in the principal border (fig. 20),⁶⁷ which within a rigid formula for the features retain the full-blooded flesh treatment of the Hellenistic tradition, do not seem far removed from the late-fifth-century mosaic in Hosios David in Thessaloniki or from some in the lost mosaics of the basilica of St. Demetrius, for which the pre-Justinianic dating has had recent support.⁶⁸ These lost mosaics included a votive panel of which the centerpiece, representing the enthroned Virgin and Child between archangels,⁶⁹ was similar to the Lythrankomi composition but for the tighter grouping which the absence of a mandorla allowed. This recurs in a Coptic tapestry in the Cleveland Museum, inspired by a church decoration and datable to the mid-sixth century,⁷⁰ while the archangels stand apart both in the well-

⁶⁴ See the detailed study by Marina Sacopoulou, *CahArch*, 13 (1962), 62–87.

⁶⁵ *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, UNESCO World Art Series, 20 (1963), pl. 1 (in color). Maria Soteriou in a recent discussion leaves open the question whether the Lythrankomi mosaic derives from the art of Constantinople or of an eastern center (Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπριολ. Συνεδ., II, 243–47). See also A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi, Cyprus, its Mosaics and Frescoes* (forthcoming), where it is established that the apse was at first undecorated. The mosaic and the capitals surviving from the original basilica (fig. 14) are not contemporary.

⁶⁶ *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. 11 (in color); Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. v, 2. For a new explanation of the mandorla, see Marina Sacopoulou, "Mosaïque de Kanakaria (Chypre): Essai d'exégèse de la 'mandorla'," *Actas del VIII Congr. Internac. de Arqueologia Cristiana*, Text volume, 445f.

⁶⁷ The apostle border was exposed in 1950 (CARDA 1950, 12 and fig. 26; A. H. S. Megaw, *Atti dell'VIII Congr. Internaz. di Studi Bizantini* [Rome, 1953], 199f.). Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins undertook the subsequent cleaning and conservation of the mosaic. Andrew, Matthew, and Thaddeus (Jude) are figured in Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. iv, 2, and v, 1.

⁶⁸ R. S. Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios Thessaloniki," *BSA*, 64 (1969), 17–52.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 7, color drawing by W. S. George; a color record of the central figures on a larger scale by N. K. Kluge was published in *IRAIK*, 14 (1909), pl. 3.

⁷⁰ Dorothy G. Shepherd, "An Icon of the Virgin: A Sixth-Century Tapestry Panel from Egypt," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 56 (1969), 90–120.

known Theotokos group in Theodoric's nave mosaics in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and in the Poreč apse. The symmetrical, frontal formula followed in these widely dispersed examples must have been disseminated from Constantinople and doubtless represents the original iconography officially adopted after the Third Ecumenical Council for images of the Theotokos.

The Cleveland tapestry includes subsidiary medallions containing busts of saints, as did the lost Thessaloniki Theotokos mosaic, and a border of apostle busts reappears in two of the sixth-century Ravenna mosaics as well as in the Transfiguration apse of the Sinai monastery, set probably in 565. Such a wide distribution again implies dissemination from the center, Constantinople itself, confirming the attachment of the Lythrankomi mosaic to metropolitan art. Indeed, if the austere treatment at Sinai is compared with the Cypriot mosaicist's apostles, it does seem probable that his work is not only somewhat earlier in date, but also quite as close to Constantinopolitan practice of its time.

Glass tesserae have been found among the remains of many early churches in Cyprus, and many more would certainly have been decorated with wall mosaics. This is one more aspect of the prosperity the Island enjoyed prior to the Arab wars, so well attested by the jewelry and silverwork of the period that has been found there.

The most complete of the fragmentary apse mosaics surviving in Cyprus, that in the village church of Kiti, brings us nearer the end of this period.⁷¹ Here also the apse containing the mosaic is much older than the rest and the centerpiece is again the Theotokos, but standing with the Christ Child on her left arm in the Hodegetria formula; and here again the apse was originally undecorated. The mosaic was not set until after the original basilica had been burnt and restored with a renewal of the wooden roof.⁷² It is tempting to assign this rebuilding and the mosaic to the fifties of the seventh century, immediately after the first Arab raids; but it is doubtful whether in the resulting upheaval a work of this excellence could have been commissioned. Nor should we forget that a wood-roofed church lit by oil lamps was a bad fire risk at the best of times. It is preferable to rely on the indications of the mosaic itself.

The presence of the archangels links this composition with that at Lythrankomi and with others of Justinianic date; for subordinate figures later passed out of favor, and already in the seventh-century church of the Dormition at Nicaea the Theotokos stood alone in the golden glory of the conch.⁷³

⁷¹ *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, pls. III–IV (in color); Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pls. I–III. A monograph on the church and its mosaic is in preparation by the writer and Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins, who has lately completed the cleaning and conservation of the mosaic in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities and with the support of Dumbarton Oaks.

⁷² The carved stucco decoration found in 1959 on a respond adjoining the apse (*BCH*, 84 [1960], 296 fig. 75) appears to belong to an earlier phase of this first reconstruction. The present domed church represents a later restoration.

⁷³ See P. A. Underwood, "The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 235–42. The Virgin must have held the Child before her as in Naukratios' restoration.

Although the Kiti Hodegetria is the only early example to survive in monumental art, the iconographic type was evolving already in the sixth century to judge by the primitive version in Rabula's gospel. At Kiti, as in the miniature, the Theotokos stands on a footstool, which, significantly, is represented as floating in space, in front of the apse wall. Although the archangels are retained, the status of Mary as ἀνωτέρα ἀγγέλων is thus conveyed without the questionable expedient of the mandorla used at Lythrankomi; for there is no such attempt to disguise the nature of the archangels as representations on the apse wall. The visionary, symbolic character of the scene is reinforced by the suppression of all landscape elements, by the attributes of earthly dominion offered by the archangels to Christ, and by their peacock wings with the connotation of everlasting life. All these features are compatible with a sixth-century dating if the Sinai mosaic, where they also occur, was indeed set in 565. And if the abstracted gaze of the Virgin (fig. 22) is repeated in Thessaloniki in the iconic figures of the seventh-century pier panels in St. Demetrius, a close connection with them is surely excluded by the full-bodied rendering of Gabriel's robes at Kiti.

What is more important to the present theme is the treatment of the faces, particularly that of the Virgin, which is markedly different from the impressionistic manner used at Lythrankomi (fig. 20). The marble tesserae are reduced in size, more carefully shaped and set in systematized patterns or concentric contours in order to give precision to the gradations of color and an illusion of relief. Much the same technique is used in Ravenna, exceptionally, in the heads of the San Vitale conch mosaic; also in Rome, but later, in the heads attributed to a Byzantine hand in San Lorenzo fuori le mura.⁷⁴ Since it appears already in the heads of the martyrs in the Thessaloniki Rotunda it is tempting to regard it as a hallmark of that "pure imperial Constantinopolitan art" with which the Rotunda mosaics have been identified.⁷⁵

The predilection for allegory observed in the treatment of the archangels also informs the decorative border surrounding the Kiti mosaic.⁷⁶ With a cross at the summit, it repeats three times on either side a motif comprising a Fountain of Life emerging from acanthus foliage, where birds and animals refresh themselves: pairs of ducks at the lowest fountains,⁷⁷ then beribboned parrots such as inhabit sixth-century floors and manuscripts,^{77a} where the ribbons originate in a Persian symbol for terrestrial power, and, finally, stags (fig. 24) evoking the forty-second Psalm: "Like as the hart desireth the water-

⁷⁴ W. Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome* (London, 1967), 143ff. Others regard them as restorations.

⁷⁵ E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm*, *Berichte zum XI. Internat. Byzantinisten-Kongr., München 1958* (Munich, 1958), 22.

⁷⁶ The border was discovered in 1952 during conservation work under the writer's direction, which made it possible to remove the supporting arch that had concealed it (*CARDA* 1952, 10 and figs. 9 and 14). Found in deplorable condition, the border was subsequently rendered comprehensible by Mr. Hawkins' skillful hand.

⁷⁷ Megaw, "Early Byzantine Monuments" (*supra*, note 8), pl. 42,2 (reproduced upside-down); Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. 11,2. The acanthus plant enclosing this lowest fountain on either side rests incongruously on a three-legged table of Hellenistic form.

^{77a} *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. iv.

brooks, so longeth my soul after Thee, Oh God." That all this conformed with Byzantine practice in the second half of the sixth century is apparent from the ambo of Bishop Agnellus in Ravenna, on which both ducks and stags appear; only the parrots are missing. The mosaic and the ambo cannot be far removed in date. All attempts to attribute the Cypriot mosaic to the eighth century, or later, founder on the decision of the Council in Trullo to prohibit symbolic representations of this kind, the Lamb of God included.

Consequently, the Kiti apse remains, on the one hand, a key monument of Byzantine art in the late sixth rather than the seventh century and, on the other, an eloquent witness to the close ties that linked Cyprus with the capital in the decades before the first Arab raids. Nor is there any reason to consider provincial the mosaic of the orant Virgin of which something remains in an early basilica apse incorporated in the small domed church of the Panagia tis Kyras at Livadia.⁷⁸ The iconographic type, which was followed in the Lateran chapel of San Venanzio (between 642 and 650), and the relegation of attendant figures to a position outside the apse conform with what could be expected in a church of the metropolitan area in the first half of the seventh century.

Turning now to the troubled times that followed, the Council in Trullo in 692 dealt with a problem arising from Justinian II's questionable expedient of removing the Cypriots, or at least some of them, from the Island to the neighborhood of Cyzicus. His object, supposedly, had been to deny to the Umayyads the share of the revenues which he had assigned to them in the treaty of 688. The problem was how to accommodate the Cypriot hierarchy with the bishop of Cyzicus, in whose diocese they had been deposited. The Council unequivocally reaffirmed the autocephaly of the Cypriot church; but the decision can hardly have been put to the test at Cyzicus, for the displaced Cypriots were shipped back to the Island after only a few years.

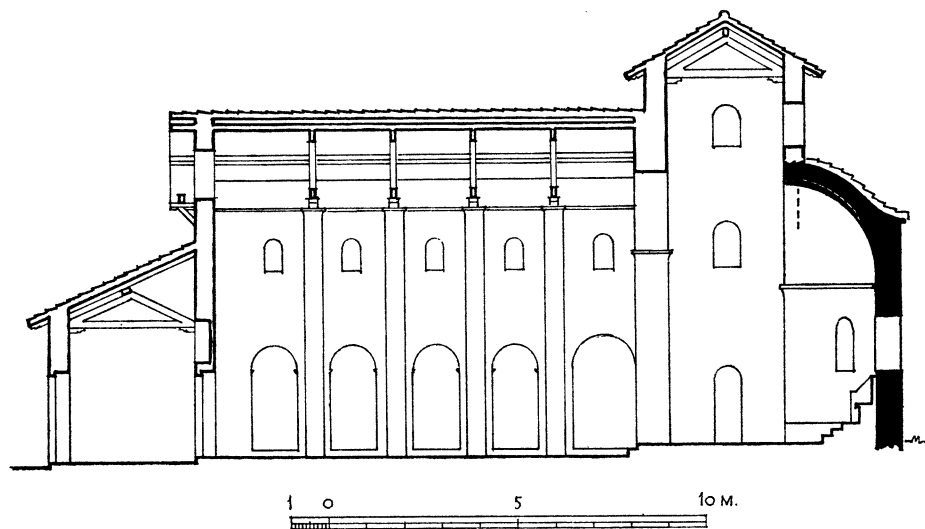
When they returned, if not before their removal, they set about restoring the churches which had been reduced to ruin. Columns were in short supply and arcades were now normally carried on masonry piers, as in the case of the Lythrankomi basilica, where the new roof, like the old, was of timber. The reconstructed long section of the church in figure F illustrates this second state of the building which still later restorations have obscured.⁷⁹ Elsewhere, when timber was scarce, the restorers had recourse to masonry vaults, as in the two basilicas at Aphentrika (fig. 25), a site subsequently abandoned.⁸⁰

The changed character of these restored basilicas underlines the isolation of Cyprus at this time, but it is well to remember that pier arcades and barrel-

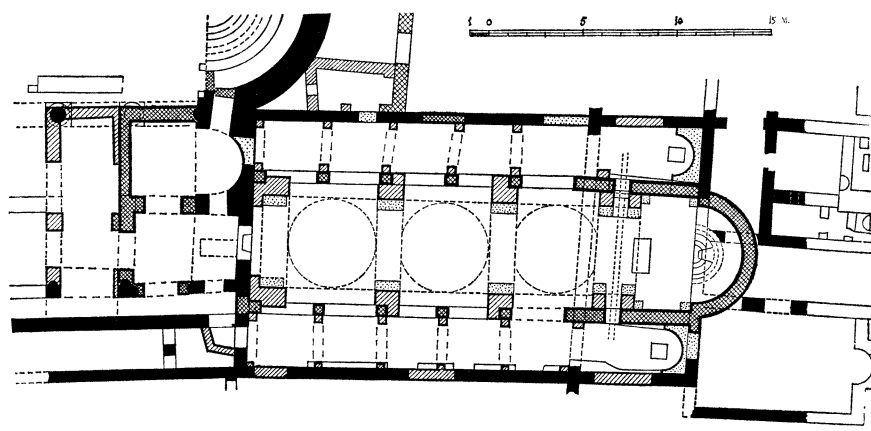
⁷⁸ A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "A Fragmentary Mosaic of the Orant Virgin in Cyprus," *Actes du XIV^e Congr. Internat. des Etudes Byzantines, Bucarest 1971* (forthcoming).

⁷⁹ Among other column basilicas restored with piers of dimensions appropriate for reroofing in timber are those at Tamassus-Politiko (*BCH*, 89 [1965], 297f.) and Tremithus (see note 14 *supra*).

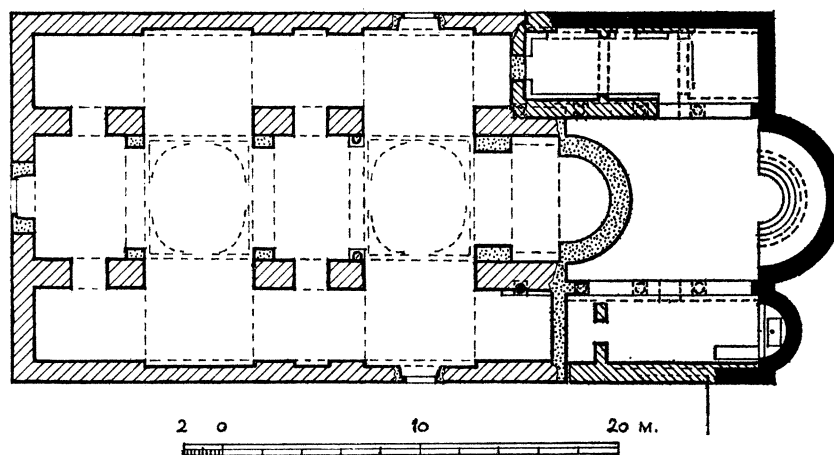
⁸⁰ Megaw, "Three vaulted basilicas" (*supra*, note 25), 48ff. and figs. 2 and 7. The third example of restoration with vaults is the Panagia church at Sykha (*ibid.*, 52f. and figs. 11 and 12). The writer's initial preference for assigning these vaulted reconstructions to the tenth century (*ibid.*, 48 and 56) was abandoned in the light of later discoveries.



F. Lythrankomi, Panagia Kanakaria. Restored Section of First Reconstruction.
Scale 1:200



G. Salamis-Constantia, Basilica of St. Epiphanius. Plan of Annex Church.
Scale 1:400



H. Monastery of St. Barnabas. Plan of Domed Church with East End
of Earlier Basilica Restored. Approx. Scale 1:400

vaulted superstructures were employed before the Arab wars in various parts of the Empire.⁸¹ Nor did the church builders of Cyprus in this period of isolation and decline ignore the dome, which had by then become a normal feature of Byzantine architecture. The earliest surviving dome on the Island is probably that carried on transverse arches over the small twin-apse church of St. George at Aphentrika, constructed in inferior masonry; it is doubtless somewhat later than the adjoining vaulted basilicas.⁸²

At Salamis-Constantia, instead of attempting to reconstruct Epiphanius' great basilica, a modest replacement was provided in an annex between it and the baptistery (fig. G).⁸³ It had a narthex to enclose the area of the tomb and, initially, a timber roof carried on slender masonry piers. At some later date, when the timber roof fell into disrepair, it was replaced by a series of three small domes on the nave, with barrel vaults on the aisles to abut them.

Such was the minuscule successor of Epiphanius' spacious church. Its meager congregation squatted in the ruins of the great city, which the sand dunes progressively engulfed. Already in the seventh century it was known as *Ammochostos*, hidden in the sand,⁸⁴ a name its inhabitants took with them when they moved to the site of the mediaeval city, the modern Famagusta. At this juncture, if not before, the archbishop withdrew to a nearby monastery dedicated to the Apostle Barnabas, who was born and martyred in Salamis.

Here, a basilica and a monastery had been founded with imperial aid to honor the relics of the Apostle, following the discovery of his tomb in the time of the Emperor Zeno.⁸⁵ A restoration of the basilica had been undertaken, doubtless following damage in the early Arab incursions. This reconstruction included masonry vaults carried on thickened walls, at least in the sanctuary, to judge by the scant remains of the ruined east end (fig. H). Later, at some date unrecorded, the western part of the church was rebuilt with two domes on new supporting masonry, into which capitals from the original basilica

⁸¹ Pier arcades: in Cyprus in the Marathovouno basilica (Papageorgiou, *RDAC* 1963, 85–101); in Syria at Shekh Sleman, dated 602 (H. C. Butler, *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions*, II, B, pt. 6 [Leyden, 1920], 338 fig. 386); in Bulgaria in the Old Metropolis at Messembria-Nessebar (Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 191 and pl. 104); in Yugoslavia the southwest church at Caričin Grad (R. F. Hodinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and South Serbia* [London, 1963], fig. 144).

Barrel vaults: "The Fortress Church" at Tolmeita in Cyrenaica (C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais* [Chicago, 1962], 97 ff.); at Belovo in Bulgaria (A. Grabar and W. Emerson, *BByzI*, 1 [1946], 45 fig. 2); basilica of St. George in Astypalaia (P. E. Lazarides, in Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζ. Συνεδρίου = 'Ελληνικά. Παράρτ. 7, Α' [Athens, 1955], 236 f.).

⁸² Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 7 and pl. 13b. A narthex with apsidal ends has since been cleared (Papageorgiou, 'A.B., 26 [1965], 96).

⁸³ Excavated by Dikigoropoulos for the Department of Antiquities (*ArchRep* 1957, 49).

⁸⁴ The hermitage of Abba Kaïoumos is there located in the mid-seventh-century *Life* of Philentolos (F. Halkin, "La vision de Kaïoumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou," *AnalBoll*, 63 [1945], 56–64).

⁸⁵ Some remains of the basilica survive, including the receptacle provided for the relics in the south apse (Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 8 and pl. 17. Cf. *idem*, 'Ο τάφος τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα, in Κυπρ. Σπουδ., 1 (1937), 3–15. Soteriou's reconstruction of the original building (*ibid.*, pl. 1) is unacceptable. It seems to have been a simple three-aisled column basilica (fig. H). The synthronon does not date from Zeno's time for it rests on an earlier floor (below that of *opus sectile*), which was visible before the wall of the main apse was partially reconstructed.

were immured for decoration.⁸⁶ In each unit, the superstructure was carried on four masonry piers and conformed with that of the normal Byzantine "inscribed cross" type of domed church (fig. 27). Where but in Constantinople, one may ask, did impoverished Cyprus find the resources and the inspiration for this massive reconstruction in a style alien to the local basilica tradition?

Another such is the church at Larnaca (the ancient Kition) dedicated to Lazarus the Tetraëmeros, who according to local tradition came to Cyprus to serve as the city's first bishop. Here, too, the capitals of some early basilica are immured in the walls of this imposing church, which unfortunately has lost the tops of its three domes (fig. 29). As in the case of the domed section of St. Barnabas, the date of its construction is not recorded.⁸⁷ But here we may have a clue, for the Emperor Leo VI is known to have received the relics of Lazarus from Cyprus in great state in the year 901, and more than one scholar has endorsed the reasonable conjecture that, as a recompense, Leo defrayed the cost of the present church. Whatever the circumstances at St. Barnabas,⁸⁸ the two churches are evidently contemporary.

A transaction such as this between the Emperor and the bishop of Kition would have been quite compatible with the status of Cyprus in the time of Leo VI, so long as the treaty under which the condominium had been established was observed. What had been a flagrant violation of the treaty was the brief reoccupation of the Island by the Byzantines under Basil I.⁸⁹ It had been established as a theme and fortified, for we hear later that the Arabs dismantled whatever had been improperly constructed. The castle on the Saranda Kolones site at Paphos may have been one of these offending fortifications.⁹⁰ We know, at least, that it was not there in the early ninth

⁸⁶ For a selection of the capitals, see Soteriou, *BuL. Μνημεία*, pl. 18b. The east end of the basilica, covered by the three barrel vaults of the first reconstruction, seems to have been retained as the sanctuary of the domed church. When it fell into disrepair it was demolished and the present east wall and apse were constructed (fig. H).

⁸⁷ Plan in Soteriou, *BuL. Μνημεία*, fig. 9. Recent excavations within the church have exposed a length of wall belonging to an earlier building and sections of *opus sectile* flooring which may relate to the present church (information from Mr. Papageorgiou).

The claim that the present church was built in 1001, "according to Zonaras" (A. A. Sakellarios, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, I [Athens, 1890], 34), is doubly erroneous. The text referred to records the construction of a church of St. Lazarus in Constantinople, not Cyprus, and this was a foundation of Leo VI, completed in 901.

⁸⁸ The supposed relics of the Cypriot Saint in Milan (*ActaSS, Iun.*, II, 415ff.) are explained by the claims of the church of that city to apostolic foundation in the person of Barnabas, claims which did not originate before the ninth century. With one exception, the early Ambrosian sacramentaries, which commemorate many bishops and martyrs honored in Milan, make no mention of Barnabas, though he figures in all early Roman canons (L. Duchesne, "Saint Barnabé," *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi* [Paris-Rome, 1892], 41-47). The city evidently did have a bishop of the name (probably in the fifth century), and this explains why some Greek catalogues of the apostles and disciples, ignoring the claims of Cyprus, assign Barnabas to Milan (M. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, I [Braunschweig, 1883], 202). If Kyprianos had good authority for the removal to Constantinople of the relics of Epiphanius by Leo VI (see *supra*, note 16), such as there is for the translation of Lazarus, the probability is that the relics of Barnabas were included in the same consignment, and that his church was partially rebuilt as it exists today about the year 900.

⁸⁹ From 875/76 to 881/82 in the latest view (cf. N. B. Tomadaki, *Κρήτη καὶ Κύπρος*, in *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπριολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 259).

⁹⁰ Megaw, "Supplementary Excavations" (see *supra*, note 63), 322-43. The castle, which was destroyed by earthquake in 1222, is probably to be identified with the Byzantine *castellum* surrendered to the crusaders in 1191.

century; also that many projected features were left incomplete, which could be explained by the hasty withdrawal of the Byzantine occupation force.

From this second period, extending from the mid-seventh century to the final Byzantine reoccupation of the Island in 965, little architectural decoration has survived. A marble capital of unknown provenance, now in Nicosia, represents the chip-carving technique which is characteristic of Byzantine transitional sculpture (fig. 26).⁹¹ Much more provincial, not to say barbaric, are the remains of crude frescoes in the simple vaulted chapel of St. Solomone at Koma tou Yialou, which have been assigned to the ninth or tenth century.⁹² The fragments in the Chrysocava cave chapel near Kyrenia, which are closer to the mainstream of Byzantine painting, recall both by their situation and their style some of the earlier Cappadocian frescoes (figs. 35, 36).⁹³

It is remarkable how little there is in the way of monumental remains in Cyprus to attest the reestablishment of Byzantine rule by Nicephorus Phocas; the same can be said of Byzantine artifacts, for coins and pottery of the late tenth and early eleventh century are far from common. Even in Lefkosia, the new capital (Nicosia to the Franks), we have almost no remains of this period. This is to some extent explained by the obliterating effect of subsequent construction under the Lusignan kings and down to our own times. What little there is, such as the closure panel in the belfry of the church of the Holy Confessors (fig. 28),⁹⁴ would be equally at home in the Aegean area.⁹⁵

Of the earlier St. Sophia which gave its name to the Gothic cathedral, now a mosque, we know nothing; and of the castle which the Lusignans inherited from the Byzantine governors even the site is uncertain. Yet, the expatriate Byzantine officials who ran the Island for over two centuries established, if they did not find, a milieu which was to some extent evocative of home. In Lefkosia, they could go to church in St. Sophia or the Hodegetria, and the main street was called the *Mese*, as in Constantinople. But the surviving monuments of their time are elsewhere in the Island and, almost exclusively,

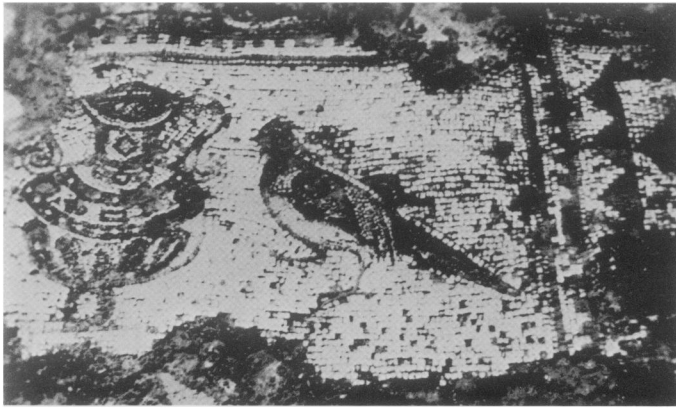
⁹¹ Now in the Folk Museum at the Old Archbishopric, where it was photographed by kind permission of Mr. A. Diamantis. The panel in the belfry of the Panagia church at Triкомо (Soteriou, Βυλ. Μνημεία, pl. 136b) is also transitional in style.

⁹² Papageorgiou, 'A.B., 30 (1969), 280ff. and figs. 17-20.

⁹³ Recently cleaned by the Antiquities Department (CARDA 1900, 11 and figs. 42-45). It is apparent that they cannot be assigned to the Early Byzantine period (Soteriou, Βυλ. Μνημεία, pls. 9b and 62). Nor can the frescoes in the rock-cut "apse" of the underground chapel of St. Solomone at Paphos be "ProtoByzantine" (*ibid.*, pl. 7); for there the celebrant bishops converge on the *melismos*, of which there is no dated example before the late twelfth century; cf. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, "Fresques de Chypre et de Macédoine dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle," Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπριολ. Συνεδ., II, 43ff.

⁹⁴ In the Ayii Omoloyitades suburb, carved on the reverse of a classical relief (*ArchRep* 1956, 29 fig. 1).

⁹⁵ The rarity of such Middle Byzantine marble carving is probably the result of dependence on local materials. Fragments of a gypsum *templon* have been found in the eleventh-century church of St. Nicholas of the Roof near Kakopetria (CARDA 1955, 9f.). Those of painted wood which have survived do not antedate the Latin Kingdom (e.g., St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanayiotis, "probably thirteenth century," according to A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus* [Cyprus, 1964], 106; Archangel Michael at Pedoulas, doubtless contemporary with the building of the church in 1474 [Soteriou, Βυλ. Μνημεία, pl. 147b]), but they probably represent a tradition of long standing in the well-wooded Troödos region.



1.



2.

Episcopal Basilica

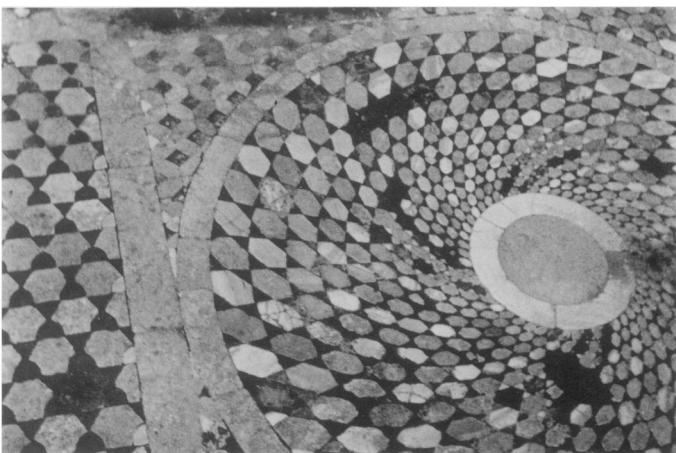


3. Bath Annex of Eustolios

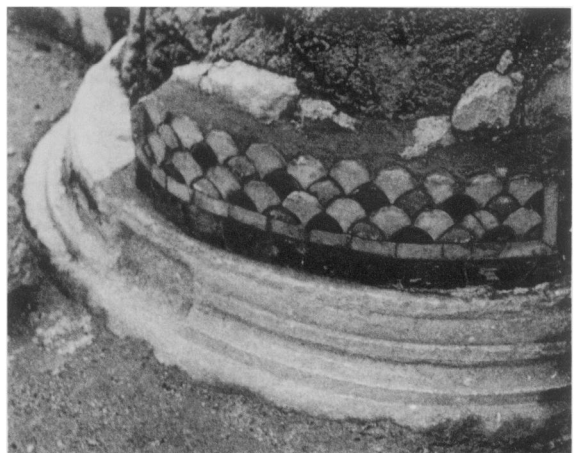


4. Baths of Eustolios

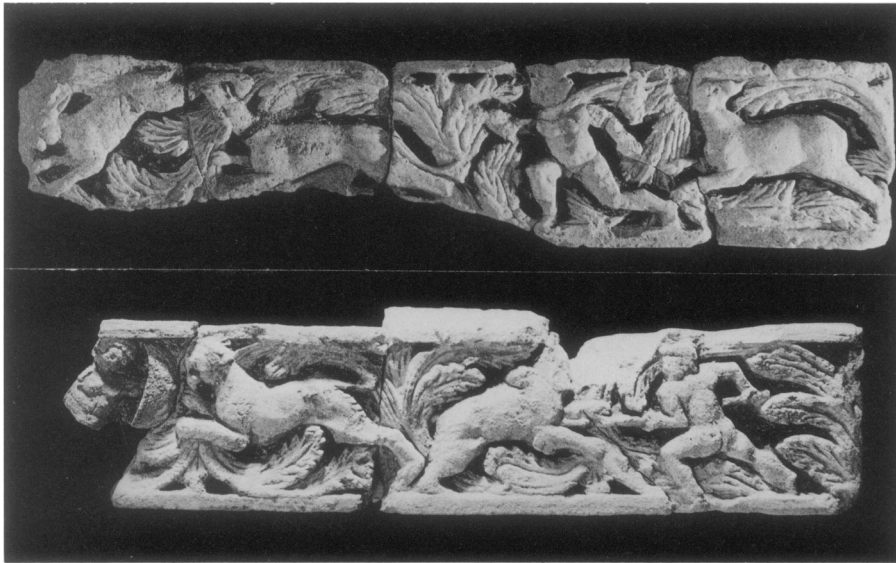
Kourion



5. Carpasia, Basilica, Baptistry



6. Constantia, Epiphanius Basilica



7. Constantia. From "The Oil Press"



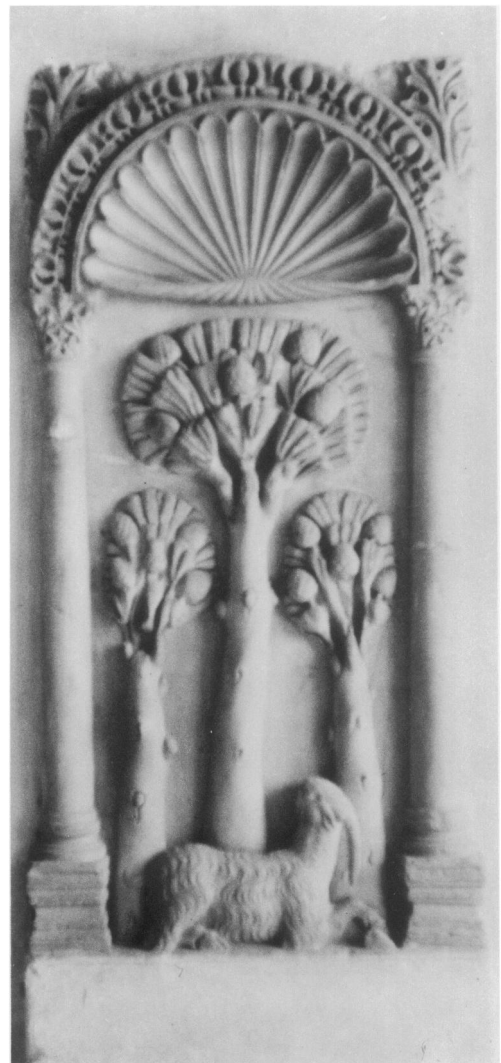
8. Cyprus Museum.
From Constantia



9. Cyprus Museum



10. Cyprus Museum. From Carpasia



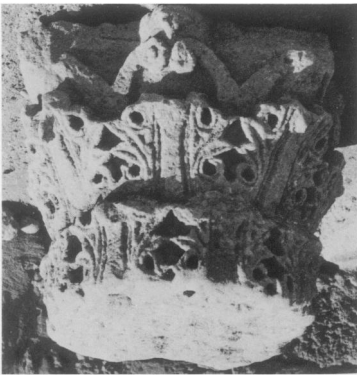
11. Nicosia, Old Archbishopric



12. Epiphanius Basilica



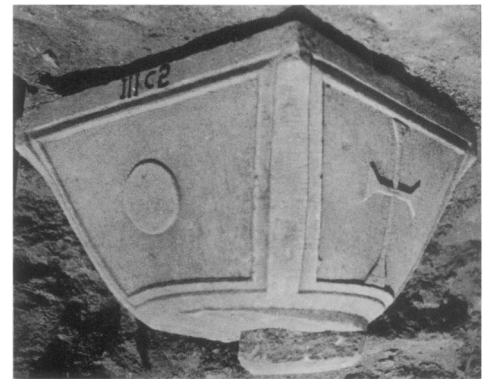
13. Campanopetra Basilica
Constantia



14. Lythrankomi, Panagia
Kanakaria



15. Carpasia, Basilica



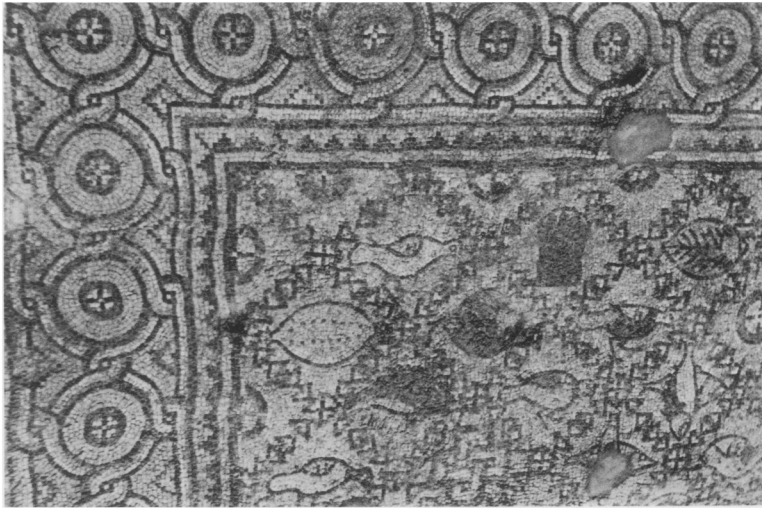
16. Peyia, Basilica III



17. Cyprus Museum. From Marathovouno



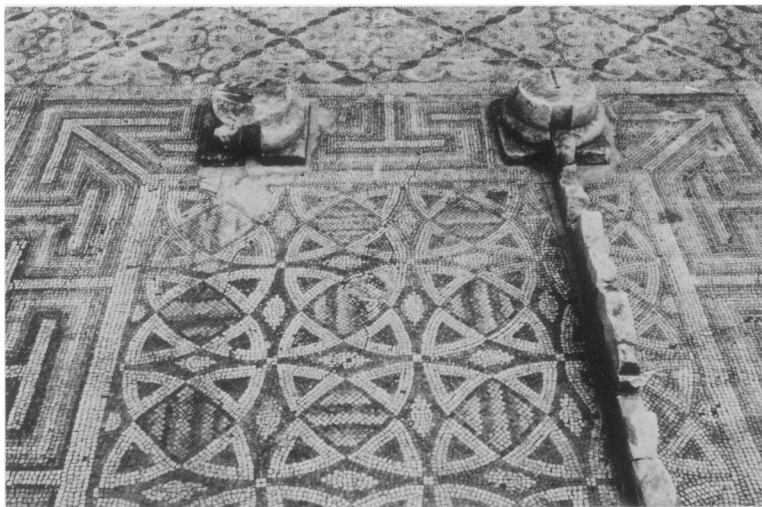
18. Paphos Museum. From Peyia, Basilica I



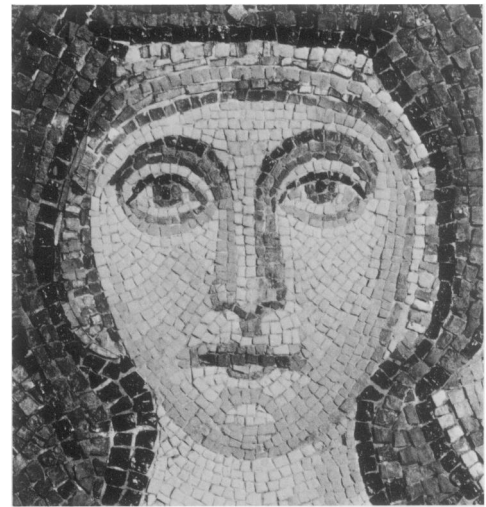
19. Peyia, Basilica I, Bema



20. Lythrankomi, Panagia Kanakaria



21. Ayia Trias, Basilica



22. Kiti, Panagia Angeloktistos



23. Tremetousha, Monastery of St. Spyridon



24. Kiti, Panagia Angeloktistos



25. Aphentrika, Asomatos



26. Nicosia, Folk Museum



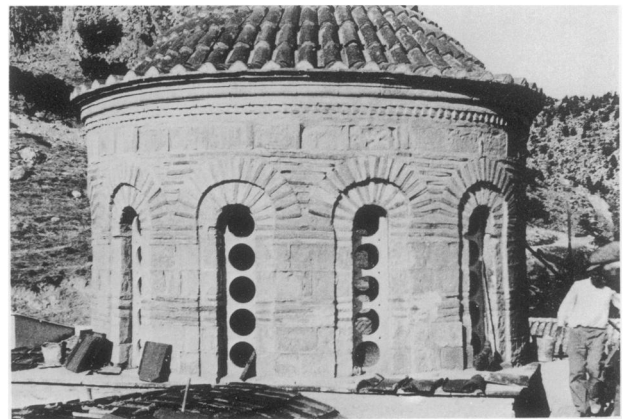
27. Monastery of St. Barnabas



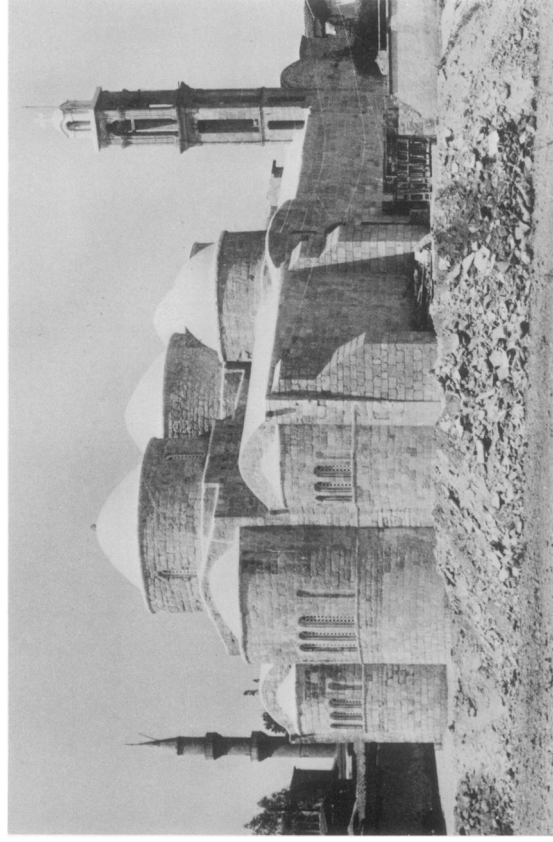
28. Nicosia, Holy Confessors



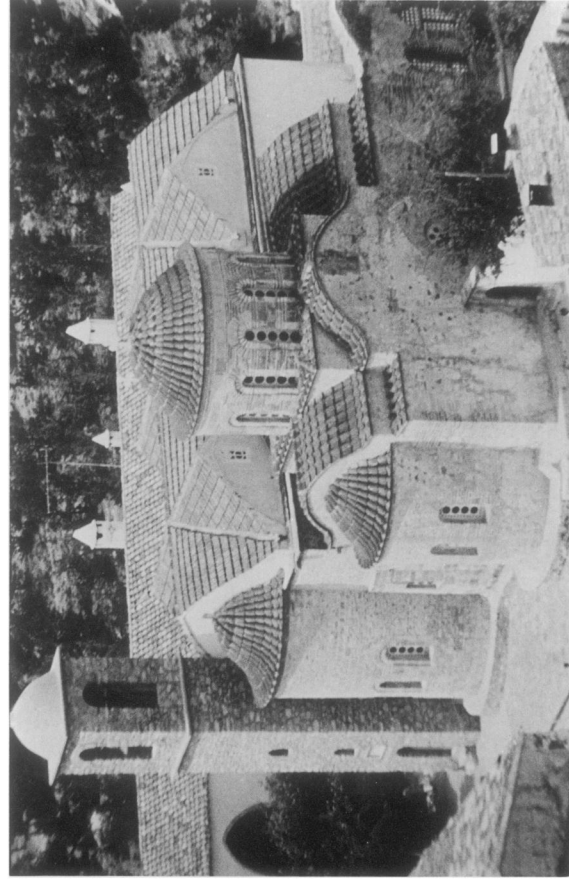
29. Larnaca, St. Lazarus



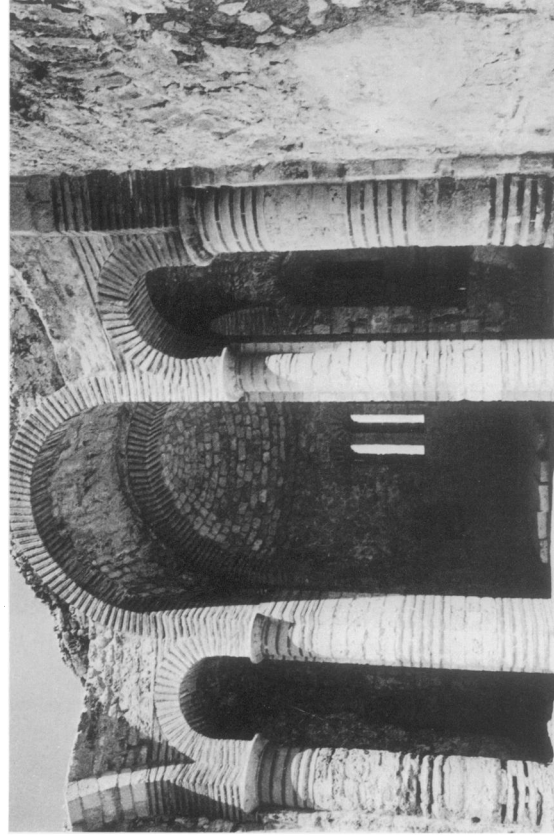
30. Monastery of St. Chrysostom, Parecclesion



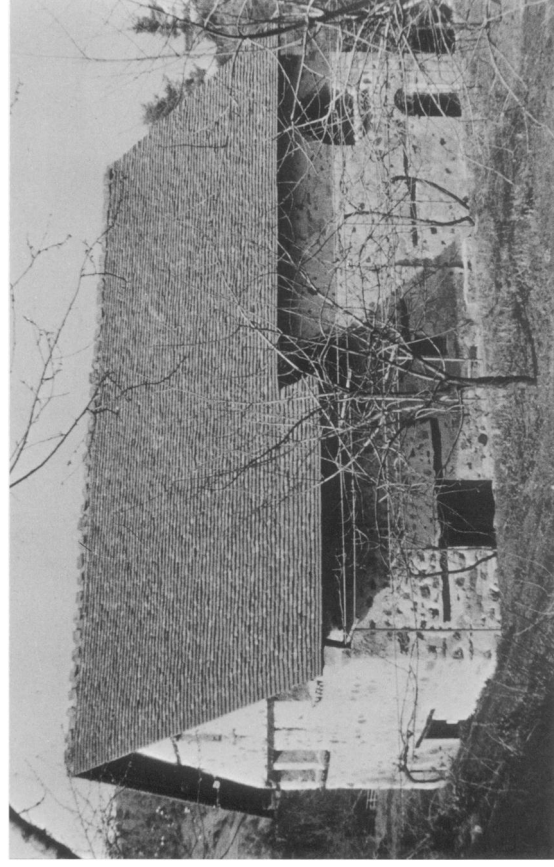
31. Peristerona, SS. Barnabas and Hilarion



32. Monastery of St. Chrysostom



33. St. Hilarion Castle, the Monastery Church



34. Kakopetria, St. Nicholas of the Roof



35.

Kyrenia, Chrysocava

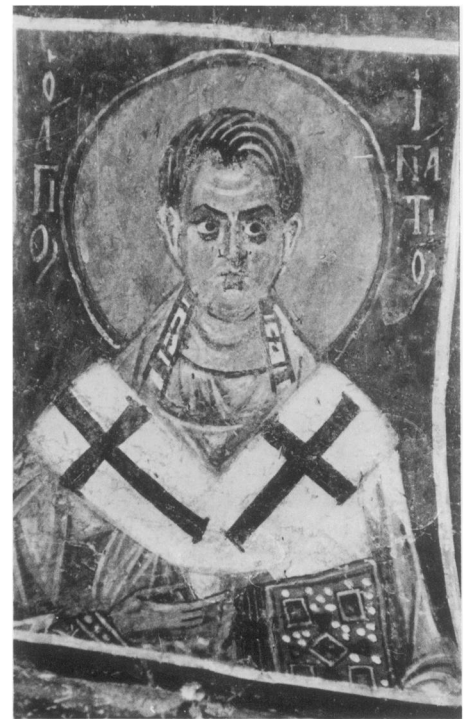


36.



37.

Kakopetria, St. Nicholas of the Roof



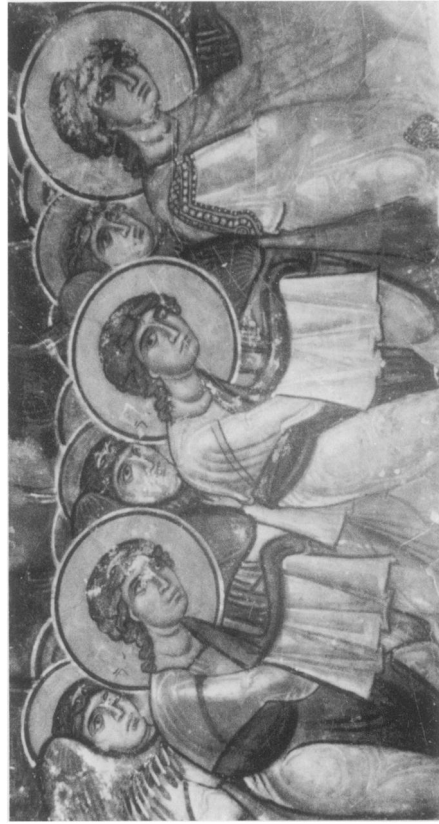
38.



39. Rizokarpaso, St. Maura



40. Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa



41. Trikomo, Panagia



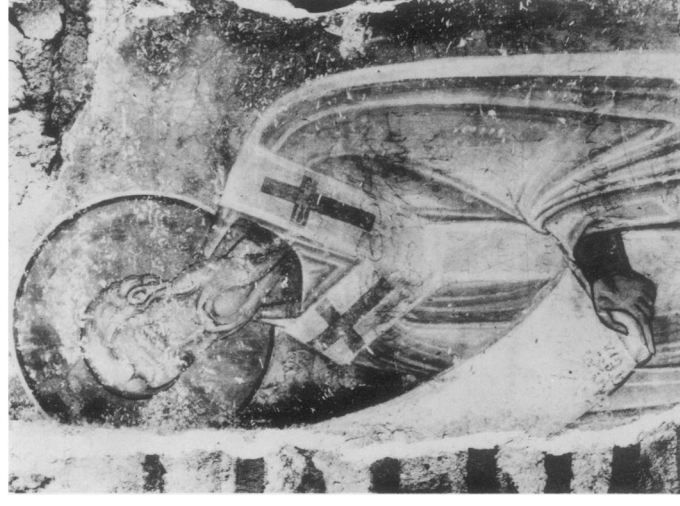
42. Monastery of Christ Antiphonetes



43. Monastery of Panagia Arakiotissa



44. Kakopetria, St. Nicholas of the Roof



45. Monastery of St. Chrysostom,
Parecclesion

they are either defensive or monastic; and there are few that can be placed before the late eleventh century.

The arrival of the Seljuk Turks across the Karamanian Strait prompted the building of a series of castles to defend the Island's northern shore, and this was almost certainly done in the time of Alexius I. He evidently maintained a corps of engineers in the Island, for we know that in 1102 he ordered the governor to send to Raymond de Saint-Gilles men and materials to build a strong fort from which to prosecute his siege of Tripoli.⁹⁶ In Cyprus at Kyrenia a fortress already existed, much of which can still be traced despite massive reconstructions and extensions in the Frankish period.⁹⁷ The little church of St. George is the only surviving feature that can with certainty be regarded as a Comnenian addition.⁹⁸ In the mountain range behind Kyrenia three new hilltop castles were erected, of which that of St. Hilarion is the best preserved. It incorporated the buildings of a monastery named after a local anchorite. Nothing could be more different from the concentric regularity of the Paphos castle,⁹⁹ for the layout at St. Hilarion was entirely determined by the configuration of the crags on and around which it was built and by the presence of the monastery which formed its nucleus. The monastery church, which became the castle chapel, has lost its large dome, but it remains important as one of the few that can be placed with confidence in the eleventh century (fig. 33). It is noteworthy also for the use in its construction of a large proportion of brick, a material previously little used in Cyprus and specifically a Byzantine contribution.¹⁰⁰ Brick was also employed by the castle builders and is much in evidence in the Comnenian sections of Buffavento castle.

For wall paintings of the eleventh century, we must pass to a monastic church near Kakopetria in the higher Troödos mountains, which is well named St. Nicholas of the Roof (fig. 34). This later roof conceals a perfectly normal church of the Byzantine inscribed-cross type, complete with a dome.¹⁰¹ Although what remains of its initial fresco decoration is not of the first class,¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XI,7, Bonn ed., II (1878), 106f.

⁹⁷ Analytical plan in A. H. S. Megaw, *A Brief History and Description of Kyrenia Castle* (Nicosia, 1961), 8. The massive south rampart added to the original enclosure is certainly Byzantine work, but the affinity of its pentagonal towers with those of the ninth-century citadel at Ankara suggests that it was built before the Comnenian period.

⁹⁸ Soteriou, *Βυζ. Μνημεία*, pl. 23a. The church incorporates remains of an Early Byzantine basilica and its dome is a modern reconstruction.

⁹⁹ Plan in W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter* (Munich-Berlin, n.d.), fig. 29. For the Paphos castle, see *supra*, note 90.

¹⁰⁰ The brick arches visible in fig. 33 are restorations, but the engaged columns supporting them are original. In these the wide mortar joints of the brick bands are reminiscent of the "recessed brick technique" which was a hallmark of Constantinopolitan construction in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (C. Mango, *DOP*, 13 [1959], 248f.).

¹⁰¹ The dome is embellished with a band of the long-stemmed pottery ornaments which were a popular architectural decoration in the Aegean and the Balkans. For some addenda to the examples cited by G. Millet (*L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* [Paris, 1916], 283ff.), see A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine reticulate revetments," *Χαριστήριον εις 'Αναστάσιον Κ. 'Ορλάνδον*, 3 (Athens, 1964), 12 note 11.

¹⁰² *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, pls. v-vii (in color). See also A. and J. Stylianou, 'Ο ναός τοῦ ἁγ. Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης . . . , in *Κυπρ. Σπουδ.*, 10 (1948), 107-17 and figs. 4-6; Maria Soteriou, Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἁγ. Νικολάου . . . , in *Χαριστήριον εις 'Α. Κ. 'Ορλάνδον*, 3, pp. 133-41, and her later assessment in *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 247f.; A. and J. Stylianou,

it is still a reflection, if a somewhat remote one, of the central tradition of Constantinople. In heads such as those of the apostles in the scenes and that of the Gabriel lately uncovered in the apse (fig. 37)¹⁰³ we see the deep-set staring eyes of the expressionist style which fresco painters of the time inherited from Byzantine miniaturists of the Macedonian renaissance. A more positive link with the Capital is provided in a gallery of portraits of patriarchs;¹⁰⁴ for here, beside Ignatius of Antioch, is figured that other Ignatius who was patriarch of Constantinople and the great adversary of Photius (fig. 38). When it is recalled that this beardless Ignatius (was he not castrated by order of Leo V with the other sons of Michael Rangabe?) was similarly juxtaposed with Ignatius of Antioch in the tympanum mosaics of St. Sophia,¹⁰⁵ it seems unlikely that the Kakopetria painter was following any local practice.

Much of St. Nicholas of the Roof was redecorated in the twelfth century with more sophisticated paintings, among them the usual series of Church Fathers on the apse wall which in this case includes a characteristic representation of St. Epiphanius (fig. 44).¹⁰⁶ Naturally, he figured frequently among the Fathers in Cypriot apses. We will see more of this superior Comnenian style, which in Cyprus is explicable only by the injection of new talent in the shape of masters who had been trained outside the Island, some of them perhaps in Constantinople itself. But first another word about the churches themselves.

The dome under St. Nicholas' roof was used to top a normal Byzantine inscribed-cross plan; but sometimes, as in the case of the larger church at Peristerona in the central plain (fig. 31),¹⁰⁷ domes proliferated on structures which, basically, are basilicas covered by the masonry vaults which had often replaced wooden roofs during the Dark Ages. Such treatments, which could well have been inspired by the improvisations of the time of Leo VI, are perhaps best credited to local invention.¹⁰⁸ In the same group we should probably include the final state of the humble successor to Epiphanius' great basilica, with three domes along the nave (fig. G).¹⁰⁹

On the other hand, the roofless church in the castle of St. Hilarion (fig. 33) belonged to a type which without question was disseminated from Constantinople,¹¹⁰ a type better represented by the complete example in the abandoned

Painted Churches, 32-34; A. Stylianos, Μία τοιχογραφία τῆς Κοιμήσεως . . ., in Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ., 4 (1964), 373-75; Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, 193ff. and pls. vi-vii. The Antiquities Department is currently revealing more of the eleventh-century decoration under later layers of painting.

¹⁰³ CARDA 1972, 11 and fig. 17.

¹⁰⁴ M. Sacopoulo, "Deux effigies inédites de patriarches constantinopolitains," *CahArch*, 17 (1967), 193ff.

¹⁰⁵ C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Mosaics of St. Sophia: The Church Fathers in the North Tympanum," *DOP*, 26 (1972), figs. 12 and 28.

¹⁰⁶ For the photographs reproduced in figs. 40 and 44 I am indebted to Mr. Hawkins.

¹⁰⁷ Plan and section in Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 10.

¹⁰⁸ On the possibility that churches like St. Lazarus at Larnaca also inspired the builders of multi-dome Romanesque churches in South Italy and France, see C. Enlart, "Les églises à coupes d'Aquitaine et de Chypre," *GBA*, 13 (1926); G. Ionescu, "Le chiese pugliesi a tre cupole," *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, 6 (1935), 50-128.

¹⁰⁹ The bricks used in the fallen sections of the domes found during the excavation of the church favor a construction date in the eleventh or twelfth century.

¹¹⁰ For plan, see Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 13.

monastery of Christ Antiphonetes further east in the Northern Range.¹¹¹ In this, the whole church is spanned by a large dome of which the supporting arches form a more or less regular octagon. Such, with certain elaborations, are the well-known churches of Daphni and Hosios Loukas in Greece; other examples in Chios, closer to the Capital, are of the basic type found in Cyprus. Local modifications of the type include the hexagonal arrangement of the dome arches adopted in the church of the abandoned Apsinthiotissa monastery.¹¹² The appearance of these large-domed churches and the introduction of brick construction attest the arrival in the Island of masterbuilders trained in the central Byzantine tradition.

Other characteristic Middle Byzantine church types were also introduced, including the cruciform and that with a small dome on four columns, the former represented by the Livadia church and the latter by the chapel in Kyrenia Castle.¹¹³ That with two columns on the west side and two piers incorporated in the bema walls, which is so common in Greece, is also found.¹¹⁴ But in Cyprus the most popular form of the Byzantine inscribed-cross church was that in which four piers supported a small dome, adopted for St. Nicholas of the Roof and for the church built on the ruins of the Carpasia basilica (fig. C).

The finest of the large-domed churches to be recorded in Cyprus was the catholicon of the monastery of St. Chrysostom, to the north of Nicosia, which was founded *ca.* 1090. Here the octagon was much less irregular (fig. I).¹¹⁵ Unhappily, soon after this plan was made, the church and its narthex were replaced by a modern structure, but the parecclesion of the Holy Trinity on the north side was spared (fig. 32). This is of the smallest domed type, which, though very common in Cyprus in the twelfth century, cannot be regarded as a local invention. It is, in fact, the normal inscribed-cross in embryo, lacking both the corner compartments and the lateral arms of the cross, but carrying a cruciform superstructure.¹¹⁶ The type is found elsewhere and, furthermore, this example is characteristically Byzantine in the high proportion of brick used in its construction. The bricks in the vertical joints of the dome masonry, above the windows (fig. 30), conform with the *cloisonné* stonework so prevalent in contemporary churches in Greece.

¹¹¹ For plan and section, *ibid.*, fig. 14.

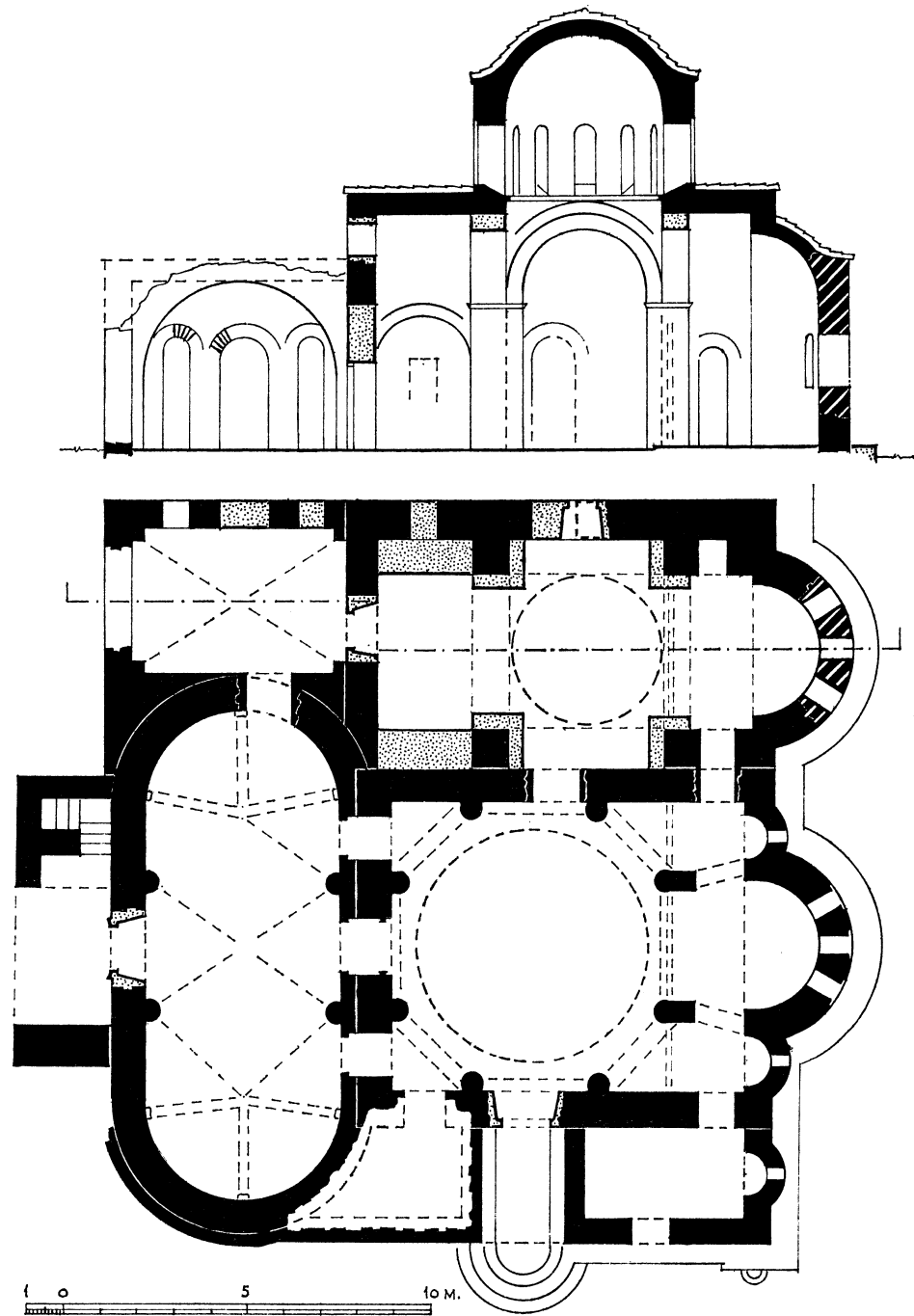
¹¹² See A. Papageorgiou, 'Η Μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης, in *RDAC* 1963, 73 ff. with plan in fig. 1. The dome, which had fallen, has lately been restored (*CARDA* 1964, 9 and fig. 21; 1965, 9 and figs. 30 and 32). The narthex, like that once to be seen in the nearby monastery of St. Chrysostom (fig. I), has apsidal ends.

¹¹³ For plan and section of the Livadia church, see Megaw and Hawkins, "A Fragmentary Mosaic of the Orant Virgin" (*supra*, note 78), fig. 1; for the Kyrenia chapel, see Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, pl. 23a.

¹¹⁴ E.g., the ruined church of St. Theodore near the Panagia Kardakiotissa at Sotera in Famagusta District (unpublished).

¹¹⁵ W. Williams's plan used in fig. I was published by Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches of Cyprus" (*supra*, note 14), 115 fig. 3A; J. Pericleous' plan and section of the parecclesion by Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 33a. The north and east walls of the catholicon were preserved when the rest was demolished; the former is notable for its exceedingly neat ashlar masonry, while the apses and the rest of the east wall are of rubble for the most part, with brick used only in the window arches.

¹¹⁶ The Panagia church at Trikomo, of the same embryonic inscribed-cross type, confirms its connection with the full four-column (or four-pier) church; for the three recesses on each of its lateral walls were separated from each other by two massive engaged columns on either side (the original state has only survived on the south side).



I. Monastery of St. Chrysostom. Plan of the Demolished Catholicon and Narthex, after W. Williams, with Plan and Section of the Parecclesion, after J. Pericleous (with amendments). Scale 1:200

Repair of the parecclesion in the fifties led to the discovery of considerable remains of its excellent frescoes, which later masonry had concealed. The cleaning and study of these by Dumbarton Oaks specialists has revealed that the building and its frescoes were the donation of Eumathios Philokales, twice governor of Cyprus during the reign of Alexius I.¹¹⁷ What remains shows that Philokales secured for the decoration of his church a master of the first rank, surely from outside the Island. His tall and sensitive figures are of a quality hardly surpassed; while in matters of iconographic detail, such as the pose of the celebrant bishops (fig. 45), they are in step with the latest developments of their time.¹¹⁸

Contemporary, close in many points of detail, and far better preserved, are the original frescoes in the little vaulted church of the Panagia Phorbio-tissa at Asinou, all that remains of another monastery, in the Troödos foot-hills. The ground plan is the same as that of Philokales' parecclesion, but for the year 1106, when it was built, the absence of a dome could be counted conservative.¹¹⁹ Not so the paintings.¹²⁰ In the excellent Dormition on the west wall,¹²¹ the Holy Women are isolated from the apostles in the loggias of two background buildings. So they are in a whole series of Byzantine representations of the scene, but of these this at Asinou is by forty years the earliest.¹²² Again, in the Communion of the Apostles, an elegantly theatrical scene, Judas is figured taking the sacrament as he hurries, embarrassed, into the wings.¹²³ In Byzantine iconography this is another "first." The Asinou master is, then, absolutely up to date. Likewise in style, a comparison of the apostles in the Entry into Jerusalem (fig. 40) with those in the eleventh-

¹¹⁷ Preliminary reports by C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, *DOP*, 18 (1964), 333-40; Mango, *RDAC* 1969, 101. Four details of the frescoes before completion of the cleaning in Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pls. xiv-xvi. On the structural conservation work which revealed the frescoes previously concealed, see *CARDA* 1956, 15 and figs. 31-33; 1957, 13; 1958, 15.

¹¹⁸ On the developments in representations of the Fathers on the apse wall, see Hadermann-Misguich, "Fresques de Chypre," *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 43ff., quoting the fuller study by G. Babić.

¹¹⁹ Seymer's section (*Archaeologia*, 83 [1933], 334) is incorrect in indicating the vault of the central bay as secondary (suggestive of an initial dome). Actually it is part of the original construction; see A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 284 note 22. Soteriou's section (*Βυζ. Μνημεία*, fig. 3) is correct in this respect but does not indicate the original transverse arches. Although the narthex is later it could have been added within the twelfth century; for its slightly pointed arches are common to the Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera (1192) and the Antiphonetes church (see *supra*, note 111), which are also linked by some details of their wall paintings, while its apsidal ends repeat a feature of the catholicon of the monastery of St. Chrysostom, ca. 1090 (fig. I), and of the approximately contemporary Apsinthiotissa church (see note 112, *supra*), a feature which at that time may well have been a Constantinopolitan importation, since it occurs also in Chios, notwithstanding its prototypes in some early Cypriot basilicas.

¹²⁰ Following the cleaning started by E. J. W. Hawkins and completed by D. Winfield for Dumbarton Oaks, a full publication is awaited. Preliminary reports by Winfield and Hawkins, *DOP*, 21 (1967), 260-66; Mango, *RDAC* 1969, 102f. For the fullest existing coverage, see Marina Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106* (Brussels, 1966). Numerous details photographed after cleaning in D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou," *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 285ff.

¹²¹ *Cyprus: Mosaics and Frescoes*, pls. viii-xi (details in color before completion of cleaning).

¹²² Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106*, 44-46.

¹²³ A. H. S. Megaw, "Twelfth-century frescoes in Cyprus," *Actes du XII^e Congr. Internat. des Etudes Byzantines*, III (Belgrade, 1964), fig. 1; Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. x,1; details of Judas in Sacopoulou, *Asinou en 1106*, pl. xx,g-h, with discussion on pp. 71f. and 123.

century version in St. Nicholas of the Roof¹²⁴ reveals that sensitive linearism which made its appearance in the best Comnenian painting around 1100. If this very competent decoration falls short of the contemporary work commissioned by Philokales in the parecclesion of the monastery of St. Chrysostom,¹²⁵ it is nonetheless clear that the founder of the Phorbiotissa, another highborn official, took equal care to avoid provincial workmanship.

Other twelfth-century wall paintings in Cyprus deserve more than the passing mention which alone is possible here. As their cleaning and study proceeds their relationships are becoming clearer. The Asinou style often reappears, though in the Panagia church at Trikomo¹²⁶ it is accompanied by somewhat infelicitous figures of the Blachernitissa and the Pantocrator; while in the same church a great concourse of angels in the dome (fig. 41) suggests a more provincial iconography.¹²⁷ The Blachernitissa, which has particular Comnenian connotations, reappears at Rizokarpaso in the vaulted chapel of St. Maura (fig. 39),¹²⁸ in the small church at Perachorio, where the Communion of the Apostles and the Ascension illustrate the Late Comnenian "baroque" style,¹²⁹ and yet again in the first decoration of the Antiphonetes church, as usual between archangels (fig. 42).¹³⁰ Only at the close of the twelfth century, at Lagoudera (1192), was the type of the enthroned Virgin revived.

We know the name of only one of the twelfth-century fresco painters who worked in Cyprus, though we do not know where he came from. He worked for a singular client, the sainted monk Neophytos, the Enkleistos, who organized his hermitage in a cave near Paphos.¹³¹ The painter was Theodore Apseudes, a name which must have inspired confidence in his employer, and we can at

¹²⁴ *Cyprus: Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. vii.

¹²⁵ Winfield suggests ("Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou," 289) that the painter was a pupil of the master who decorated the parecclesion for Eumathios Philokales.

¹²⁶ Following cleaning of the wall-paintings by the Antiquities Department assisted by restorers of the Greek Archaeological Service, Mr. Papageorgiou pointed out close similarities with those of the Asinou church, particularly in details of the Ascension (*Masterpieces*, 23 and pl. xxii, 2), and Mr. Winfield has ventured the opinion that they are by the same hand (*op. cit.*, 289).

¹²⁷ See Soteriou, *Βυζ. Μνημεία*, pl. 99a; Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xxii, 1; Winfield, *op. cit.*, pl. lx, 2 (Blachernitissa); *CARDA* 1966, fig. 24 (Pantocrator), fig. 25 (angels). The multiplicity of angels in the zone below the Pantocrator is foreign to the Constantinopolitan treatment, if we may judge by the Megara dome (G. Lampakis, *Mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes de la Grèce* [Athens, 1902], 76 fig. 145) and the Sicilian mosaics (O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* [London, 1949], pls. 13, 14, and 46). The development of dome compositions has been discussed by Hélène Grigoriadou, "Affinités iconographiques de décors peints en Chypre et en Grèce aux XII^e siècle," *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 37f. See also D. Mouriki, *Αἱ Διακοσμήσεις τῶν τρούλλων . . . Γερακίου*, in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* (1971), *Ἀρχ. Χρονικά*, 1–6.

¹²⁸ Photograph taken after cleaning by the Department of Antiquities (*CARDA* 1967, fig. 26). The better preserved equestrian St. George in a recess of the south wall, which seems not to be part of the original decoration, is assigned by Maria Soteriou to the late thirteenth century: *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 250, and pl. xlvii, 2.

¹²⁹ Megaw and Hawkins, *DOP*, 16 (see *supra*, note 119), 279–348. The design on the apse arch of the Rizokarpaso church (fig. 39) is repeated at Perachorio (*ibid.*, fig. 44), suggesting that their frescoes are not far apart in date.

¹³⁰ Recently cleaned by the Department of Antiquities (*CARDA* 1969, figs. 46–49).

¹³¹ The frescoes were cleaned by E. J. W. Hawkins for Dumbarton Oaks; see C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 121–206, with earlier bibliography.

least be sure that the three portraits of the Saint surviving in the decoration of his hermitage were taken from life. Neophytos' cell was painted, or repainted, by the truthful Theodore in 1183, as was the oratory adjoining it. It is in the oratory, facing the altar, that the principal portrait of the Saint appears between stately archangels, beneath his prayer for the accomplishment of this somewhat hubristic vision.¹³² The oratory subsequently became the sanctuary of a larger chapel of which the nave was painted some years later, after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom, and by a very different hand. This second painter worked in a harsh linear style, which has been called "Comnenian provincial," and can be matched in a widespread group of later twelfth-century wall paintings extending from Russia to South Italy.¹³³

Theodore Apseudes, on the other hand, belonged to a more sophisticated, courtly tradition. What survives of his painting reveals a quality of restraint in his uncluttered compositions, which retain a monumental character despite the unusually small scale, but which are enlivened by occasional vagaries in the drapery, for example in the sombre Crucifixion the somewhat extravagant coiling of the centurion's mantle round the spike of his shield.¹³⁴ A similar contrast is seen in the Anastasis painted in the tomb recess which the Saint contrived for himself in the wall of his cell. Here, as indeed throughout his work, Theodore uses a "rococo" drapery treatment which was fashionable even in the best Byzantine painting of the last decades of the twelfth century. In Christ's mantle and at the hem of Adam's robe are the characteristic involuted folds of what has been called, irreverently but aptly, the "tooth-paste style."¹³⁵

Lastly, and most perfect in the preservation of its wall paintings, is the monastic church of the Panagia Arakiotissa by the mountain village of Lagoudera.¹³⁶ It is of the same embryonic inscribed-cross type as the parecclesion in the monastery of St. Chrysostom and the Trikomo church, but it is hidden almost completely by the tiled roof with which, like St. Nicholas of the Roof (fig. 34), it has been protected. By the time this and other vaulted and domed churches in the Troödos hill country required reconditioning, Byzantine *expertise* was no longer available for their repair. Their restorers had perforce to resort to the timber and flat-tile roofing which has long been traditional in the well-wooded Troödos range and which, incidentally, is a much better protection in winter snow storms. No dated example of this type of construction has survived earlier than the Panagia church at Moutoullas (1280).¹³⁷

¹³² *Ibid.*, fig. opposite p. 166 (in color).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 198f. and 206; V. N. Lazarev, "Živopis' XI–XII vekov v Makedonii," *XII^e Congr. Internat. des Etudes Byzantines, Ohrid 1961, Rapports*, V, 124ff. Cf. Maria Soteriou, Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπριολ. Συνεδ., II, 249f.

¹³⁴ Mango and Hawkins, "The Hermitage," fig. 80; clearer in Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, pl. 69a.

¹³⁵ Mango and Hawkins, "The Hermitage," fig. 108; Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pl. xviii (in color); *Cyprus: Mosaics and Frescoes*, pl. xii (detail in color).

¹³⁶ Plan and section in A. and J. Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, figs. 40 and 41.

¹³⁷ Soteriou, Βυζ. Μνημεῖα, fig. 38 and pl. 52a. Larger, three-aisled churches were constructed with timber "arcades," e.g., the Chrysokourdaliotissa near Spilia, recently restored (*CARDA* 1968, fig. 32), and may be regarded as remote regional descendants of Early Byzantine basilicas.

But it cannot have been a Frankish introduction if the original church of the Panagia Amasgou near Monagri was roofed in this way, as seems probable, and if it was built before the crusader occupation, as the style of its first wall paintings suggests.¹³⁸ These steep-pitched roofs would then represent the indigenous, "provincial," architecture of this area of Cyprus, which was temporarily supplanted by alien Byzantine domes.

The Lagoudera church was painted in 1192, a few months after Richard Lionheart had seized the Island, by an unnamed master schooled in the same tradition as Theodore Apseudes, but displaying a greater maturity. It contains an almost complete cycle of frescoes of very high quality which, thanks partly to the added roof, is exceptionally well preserved, though it has gained greatly by systematic cleaning, recently completed.¹³⁹ It is the creation of an outstanding painter, who might never have worked in this remote location but for the upheavals which attended the establishment of the crusaders on the Island. From the elegant classicism which informs his scenes there are occasional departures, such as the strikingly animated figure of Moses in the dome,¹⁴⁰ which would not disgrace the mosaicists of Monreale. In his iconography there is no breath of provincialism; indeed, his splendid Dormition¹⁴¹ is one of the earliest examples in which the figure of Christ receiving the soul of the Virgin is enclosed in a mandorla.¹⁴² The pendentive reserved for the angel of the Annunciation (fig. 43) illustrates another characteristic: the unusual elaboration of this painter's architectural backgrounds, albeit conceived two-dimensionally with virtually no perspective.¹⁴³

In his figure of Gabriel in this pendentive, as in some others, he introduces that agitation of drapery which is characteristic of his time. When Professor Weitzmann drew attention to the archangel on a Constantinopolitan Annunciation icon in the Sinai monastery, whose robes are similarly agitated, he confirmed that the Lagoudera master's "rococo" manner derives directly from the Capital.¹⁴⁴ And this, surely, is true of this painter's work as a whole. His presence in the Island at the time of the crusader occupation is some indication that, despite the usurpation of authority by the Despot Isaac, Cyprus still retained close ties with Constantinople, ties which left an imprint on Cypriot church building and decoration that was long to endure under Latin rule.

¹³⁸ On this church (i.e., Monagri), see D. C. Winfield, *DOP*, 25 (1971), 259ff., and the full account by S. Boyd, with R. C. Anderson's reconstruction of the original timber roof, in this volume, *infra*, p. 276ff.

¹³⁹ By D. Winfield for Dumbarton Oaks. Preliminary reports in: *BCH*, 93 (1969), 566-69; *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-70), 377; *RDAC* 1971, 147f.; *DOP*, 25 (1971), 262ff. First published by A. Stylianou, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου*, in *Πεπραγ. τοῦ Θ' Διεθν. Βυζ. Συνεδ.*, I (Athens 1955), 459ff. See also Papageorgiou, *Masterpieces*, pls. xxiii-xxvii; G. Soteriou, *Θεοτόκος ἡ Ἀρρακιώτισσα τῆς Κύπρου*, in *Ἀρχ.Ἐφ.* 1953-54, pt. 1 (1955), 87-91.

¹⁴⁰ Megaw, "Twelfth-century frescoes," fig. 15.

¹⁴¹ Winfield, *RDAC* 1971, pl. 36 (after cleaning).

¹⁴² Cf. Hadermann-Misguich, *Πρακτ. τοῦ Πρώτ. Διεθν. Κυπρολ. Συνεδ.*, II, 49.

¹⁴³ A. H. S. Megaw, "Background architecture in the Lagoudera frescoes," *JÖBG*, 21 (1972), 195-201.

¹⁴⁴ K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai," *Festschrift von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), 299-312.